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THE MILITANT

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Iraq invasion targets Iranian revolution

Carter threatens military action

The Iranian revolution is under attack.

The Iraqi regime has launched an invasion of Iran, accompanied by intense bombing of heavily populated Iranian cities.

President Carter has openly raised the possibility of military intervention. On September 24, Carter declared that "freedom of navigation in the Persian Gulf is of primary importance" to Washington and its allies. He

An editorial

wouldn't say whether U.S. forces in the region had been placed on alert.

Carter said he is "consulting" his allies about possible action in the Persian Gulf. According to the September 25 *New York Times*, the consultations involve "the formation of an international naval force" to take

"preventive action" to keep the Gulf and Strait open.

The fleet would consist of warships from the U.S., Britain, and France.

The Strait of Hormuz is the entrance way to the Persian Gulf, a major artery for oil shipments. The Gulf is the scene of big naval battles between Iraq and Iran.

The U.S. threats are not intended to deter Iraq, which started the war. They are aimed directly at Iran.

The *Wall Street Journal* made the target explicit in a September 24 editorial: "What if . . . the Iranians decided to close the Straits of Hormuz?" it asked. "Sending military forces to lift the threat would have to be considered very seriously."

Washington's moves and the escalating military assault by Iraq's rulers are directed at the gains that Iranian workers and farmers have won since the shah was toppled in February 1979.

The Iranian revolution abolished the monarchy and SAVAK, the shah's hated secret police. The torturers and hangmen of the old regime began to be tried and punished.

Farmers began dividing the lands of the big agricultural barons.

Most industrial workers won a doubling of wages, and unemployment insurance increased.

The domination of Iran's oil wealth by Exxon and its ilk was dealt a blow. Oil workers, who work in the areas most immediately threatened by the Iraqi invaders, established powerful organizations and fought for their right to oversee production.

Most foreign-owned banks and industries were nationalized.

Throughout Iran, factory workers began organizing committees to fight for their interests on issues of wages, health, safety, housing,

Continued on page 2

Arkansas nuclear nightmare



Residents of Damascus, Arkansas, walk past debris hurled half a mile by September 19 explosion at missile site.

By Nelson Blackstock
and Mohammed Oliver

DAMASCUS, Ark.—"Those missiles have done a lot more harm to us than the Russians," said John Stacks.

Stacks's property borders the base where a Titan II missile exploded on September 19. One Air Force sergeant was killed and twenty-one other people were injured in the blast. Some 1,400 residents within a five-mile radius of the silo were temporarily evacuated.

Stacks, who suffered injuries from a previous accident at the base two years ago, says, "It's a miracle only one person got killed" this time.

Deadly debris and shrapnel from the blast were thrown hundreds of yards from the silo. A huge piece of twisted steel sits on Stacks's land.

Initial Air Force accounts of the incident claimed it resulted from a maintenance worker dropping a three-pound wrench socket seventy feet, puncturing a fuel tank. The fuel began to leak, the story goes, and several

hours later it exploded.

There have been hundreds of accidents at Titan II missile bases since the system was deployed in 1963. Fifty-five people have died and scores have been injured. The two senators from Arkansas have questioned the safety of the Titan II weapon system, calling for a full congressional investigation of the missile.

But Hans Mark, secretary of the Air Force, defends the Titan II as "the largest, most reliable, best missiles among our launchers."

Mark, however, is more interested in the Titan's war-making capabilities than he is in space exploration.

Of the 1,054 land-based Intercontinental Ballistic Missiles (ICBMs) in the United States, the Titan IIs carry one-third of the total megatonage. Arizona, Arkansas, and Kansas each have eighteen of the missiles. Each Titan II carries a nine-megaton nuclear warhead that is 750 times more

Continued on page 3

... war

Continued from front page

ing, and production priorities.

Distribution of food and other necessities to impoverished city-dwellers was begun.

Instead of maintaining the shah's old alliance with the racist South African and Israeli regimes, the new government broke relations with both and cut off oil shipments to them.

These gains were accomplished and maintained by massive and continual mobilizations of the oppressed and exploited.

Such mobilizations terrify regimes like that in Iraq, which brutally represses every attempt by working people to express their views or defend their interests.

Despite their anti-imperialist declarations and conflicts with Washington over issues like Israel, the Iraqi ruling class derives its wealth from a backward economic and social structure that is dominated by U.S. imperialism and other big capitalist powers.

The Iraqi regime fears that the deepening of the Iranian revolution will inspire the workers and farmers in Iraq and elsewhere in the Middle East.

The Carter administration and the government of Saddam Hussein in Iraq share a common interest in trying to stop the revolutionary process in Iran before it leads to a socialist revolution, as happened in Cuba.

That is why the Iraqi rulers—who peacefully settled their territorial differences with the shah in 1975—have launched a bloody war against Iran today. It was only after the shah fell that Hussein revived the border dispute.

Carter loudly proclaims "neutrality" in the war between Iraq and Iran. But the U.S. oil companies and banks, and their government, State Department, and CIA have never been neutral where the Iranian revolution was concerned.

In 1953 the CIA organized a coup to return the shah to the throne after he had been driven from power by the Iranian people. The CIA organized the shah's secret police, and 40,000 U.S. "advisers" trained and staffed his army. To the bitter end in early 1979, the Carter administration tried to keep the royal butcher in power—even at the cost of tens of thousands of lives.

Many of the Iranian politicians and generals that Washington supported against the Iranian people are now in Iraq, where they are organizing an exile army to invade Iran—much like the exile army that Washington trained to invade Cuba in 1961.



Lou Howort/Militant

It can be safely assumed that, as in the past, Washington is providing aid and guidance to these forces. Especially since the CIA admits that it maintains radio stations that beam messages of support for these counterrevolutionaries into Iran.

The Iraqi invasion was accompanied by a stepping up of Washington's drive against Iran.

Carter claims he is worried about the safety of the hostages now that a war has begun.

The Carter administration should be asked why it dismissed the offer from Ayatollah Khomeini to release the hostages if Washington lifted all sanctions against Iran and returned the wealth stolen by the shah. Carter's brushoff came at a time when he was well aware that military conflict with Iraq was heating up.

Like the U.S. military raid against Iran last April, this demonstrated the Carter administration's indifference to the fate of the hostages. It is much more concerned with using the hostages as a focus for anti-Iran propaganda and a possible pretext for military moves.

Big oil is also out to squeeze every nickel it can out of the crisis. With Carter's support, the oil giants are readying new price increases. They claim that the war will produce an oil shortage, even though inventories are at an all-time high and hardly any of the oil this country uses is from Iran and Iraq.

With the media drumfire about the hostages and "oil shortages" as backdrop, U.S. military

forces are being prepared for possible action in Iran. "The Pentagon has begun by designating four Army and Marine divisions, plus Air Force, Navy and support units for quick use in the Persian Gulf," reported the September 20 *New York Times*.

"Almost one-fifth of the Army's active divisions, one-third of the Marine Corps, half the Navy's carrier battle groups on patrol and a variety of Air Force wings have been allocated to the effort."

Reporting on the "Rapid Deployment Force" in the September 24 *New York Times*, Malcolm Browne noted that "most soldiers seem aware of the possibility that they could be fighting soon in the Persian Gulf or elsewhere in the Middle East."

A recent, little-publicized presidential directive (Presidential Decision Memorandum No. 51) provides for possible use of nuclear weapons against Iran.

Unlike Carter and his allies, American working people have every reason to support the big gains that Iranian workers and farmers have won. Their aspirations for a better life are the same as ours. And their enemies—like big oil—are our enemies.

And we have a life-and-death stake in opposing the Carter administration's attacks on Iran. For these moves can drag the American people into a new Vietnam in the Middle East—and to the brink of a nuclear holocaust.

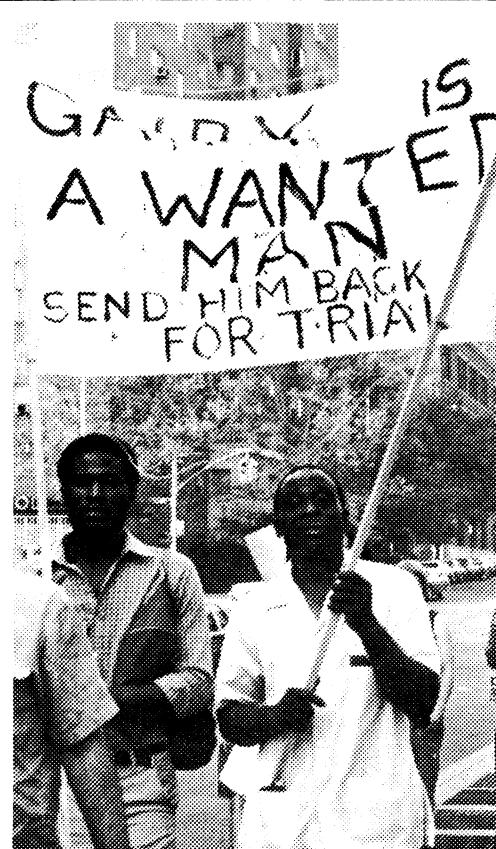
Hands off Iran!

U.S. forces out of the Persian Gulf!

No to the draft! We won't fight big oil's war!

Militant Highlights This Week

- 6 Cuban cosmonaut on space flight
- 7 Subscription drive tops goal
- 8 Iran-Iraq war
- 9 Celebrations in Nicaragua
- 10 Polish union conference
- 11 IAM meetings back strike call
- 15 Steelworkers discuss energy, jobs
- 16 Nicaragua literacy drive
- 18 Ford vs. Marx
- 24 Fight to save Harlem hospital
- 14 As I See It
- 20 In Review
- 21 Great Society
Women in Revolt
What's Going On
- 22 Our Revolutionary Heritage
Letters
- 23 Learning About Socialism
If You Like This Paper . . .



Support Grenada!

Since dictator Eric Gairy was overthrown by the Grenadian people, the island has made big advances under its new revolutionary leadership. Socialist Workers Party presidential candidate Andrew Pulley, who has visited Grenada, discusses in a radio interview why U.S. solidarity with the revolution is important. **Pages 12-13.** In New York, hundreds of supporters of the revolution turned out at a meeting where Gairy was to speak, demanding that the U.S. government extradite the tyrant to face charges in Grenada. **Page 7.**

The Militant

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Arkansas farmers speak out: 'military won't tell us anything'

By Nelson Blackstock
and Mohammed Oliver

DAMASCUS, Ark.—"We're sitting on a powder keg here. One of our rulers could get a little off and blow the whole world up."

Jim Trice, nearly seventy, is from Brinkley, Arkansas. He was voicing the feelings of a lot of people.

"It's like the problem with all of those chemicals they've been dumping. They are getting into our water streams and they are going to cause us a lot of problems."

We met Jim Trice in a restaurant on the way to this farm town of 225 people that has suddenly drawn world-wide attention.

Our first stop here was the Sharp-Payne Grocery, where the Air Force had set up a temporary claims office for those suffering damages as a result of the explosion at the missile silo just north of town.

As we pulled up, Jeff Hutto was climbing into his pick-up truck. A

District 31 Steelworkers discuss the nuclear threat, environmental standards, and jobs. See page 15.

dairy farmer, he lost 600 pounds of milk as the result of a missed milking during the forced evacuation of local residents.

Like most everybody else around here, it seems, he is angry at the Air Force and government for not telling them enough. And he doesn't believe what they do tell him.

"They got that warhead out of here in a metal box last night. Then this



Militant/Nelson Blackstock

JOHN STACKS: 'That big hunk of metal . . . could have hit somebody's house and killed a bunch of people.'



Militant/Nelson Blackstock

SAM HUTTO: 'All they told us is that it was a gas leak.'

morning they made a big production of shipping a Porta-Toilet out on a flatbed truck, making like that was the warhead.

"The thing that gets me is that they could have had everyone out of here if they had told us it was going to blow.

'We'll never know'

"Now they told us that there was no radiation leak. But you don't know about that either."

What about the danger of contaminating milk produced here?

"They're not testing for it. We'll never know. The consumer will have to suffer."

He was in bed seven miles away when the missile blew up.

"There was one explosion, then a half-second later, another one. It was earth shattering."

siles, knows what the warhead looks like.

By September 20, the Air Force was refusing to even admit the existence of a nuclear warhead. State officials and local residents were told nothing about the whereabouts of the warhead or its condition. This cover-up angered many people here.

State Public Safety Director Sam Tatom and Van Buren County Sheriff Gus Anglin both criticized the Air Force's secrecy.

Police and local residents got most of their information about what was going on at the missile site by monitoring Air Force radio conversations. Sam Hutto, a local farmer, told the *Militant* that he listened to Air Force teams search for the warhead. And, after finding it, discuss how to hide it from view.

"I was with five boys," Hutto said, "talking about it and what we decided was—the Air Force was gambling. They wanted to keep it all secret. If they lost, a lot of people might have gotten killed. But if they fixed it, no one would have known."

Early in the morning of September 22, three days after the explosion, the Air Force appeared to have moved the nuclear warhead to a base near Little

Rock. The news media followed a flatbed truck believed to be carrying the bomb through Little Rock during rush-hour traffic.

Meanwhile, some speculated that the Air Force had actually already moved the warhead on September 21. Public Safety Director Tatom, for example, said that the "more relaxed" attitude of the Air Force on September 21 led him to believe that the warhead had already been moved.

The warhead is being returned to a

In addition to his dairy, John Stacks has a small feed store. That's where we found him, about to be interviewed by a Little Rock television reporter.

"I suffered a \$20-25,000 loss after the accident in 1978," Stacks said. "The Air Force has never admitted any responsibility whatsoever. My veterinarian did an autopsy of my cows and found their lungs filled with scars and lesions.

"I got caught in the fog too. I still suffer from headaches, chest pains, and nausea. I've been to the Mayo Clinic, the National Institute of Health in Washington, D.C., and in and out of the hospital twenty-nine times. I've never gotten a dollar from the government. I have a suit pending against them now."

Had John Stacks been warned of the pending danger in 1978, he would have avoided all of this suffering.

This time, like others, he listened to the Air Force band on his radio. "That's the only way we found out anything."

'Print this'

"There is somebody else I'm mad at, and I want you to print this. That's Governor [Bill] Clinton. The Air Force told him there might be an explosion, but he never told us. It's a miracle only one person got killed. That big hunk of metal that landed in my pasture, a quarter of a mile from the silo—it could have hit somebody's house and killed a bunch of people."

Stacks says that there are now discussions among farmers about block-

Continued on page 4

nuclear weapons assembly plant in Texas for repairs.

Air Force chief Mark, however, when asked at a news conference on September 22 about Air Force plans regarding the warhead, responded by asking, "What warhead?"

Distrust of the Air Force is high here. Sam Hutton said that "if you asked the Air Force whether there was an explosion, they would probably deny it."

41% in Maine vote 'No nukes'

With 660 of 665 precincts in Maine reporting results, 41 percent—159,761 people—voted in favor of a referendum to shut down the Maine Yankee nuclear power plant and to ban all future construction of such facilities in the state; 230,780 voted against the referendum.

Voters came out September 23 in significant numbers—60 percent—for the first ballot referendum that has appeared for the shutdown of an operating nuclear facility.

The percent voting for the refer-

endum was significantly higher than polls taken in January 1980, when only 20 percent voted "yes" and this summer, when 35 percent agreed.

Russell Christensen, a lawyer active in the Maine antinuclear fight, gave his interpretation of the results to the *New York Times*:

"The vote means that we were not able to overcome the corporate power and money, but that we involved more people than ever before and that we can come back and do it next time."

...Arkansas

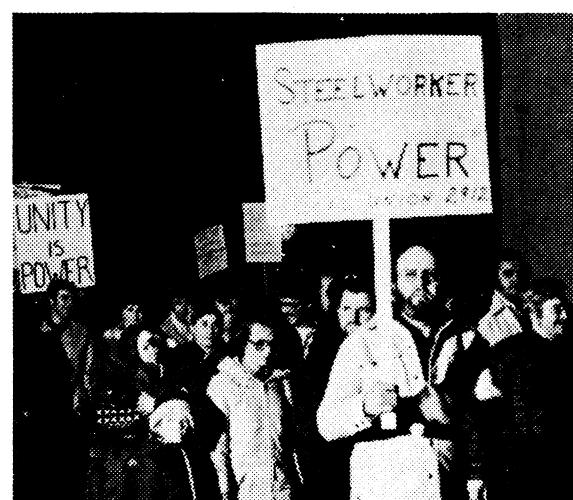
Continued from front page
powerful than the bomb dropped on Hiroshima.

The warhead atop the missile in Damascus was blasted 500 feet into the air and several hundred feet away from the silo.

At a news conference on September 19, Mark insisted that "the warhead is not in danger of being ignited because it is designed with fail-safe safety devices." Mark also claimed that "there was absolutely no evidence of radioactive debris in the area."

Concern about the condition of the Titan II's warhead following last week's explosion is well-founded. In 1966, for example, a B-52 bomber collided with a tanker above a town called Palomares, Spain. Two atomic weapons fell and spread radioactive debris over the land.

Ed Klaunch, who is an operations officer for the Arkansas Office of Emergency Services, told reporters that he was within 1,500 feet of the Damascus silo just hours after the blast and saw inspectors with geiger counters walk up to the warhead. Klaunch, formerly a technician who loaded nuclear warheads in Titan mis-



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Bombing attacks on CP, SWP in L.A.

By Stu Singer

There have been serious attacks against the Communist Party and the Socialist Workers Party in southern California in the past week.

On Saturday afternoon, September 20, a bomb blew off the door of the Los Angeles headquarters of the Communist Party. No one was in the office at the time, but other people were in the building where the blast occurred. No one was injured.

On Tuesday, September 23, a man was discovered planting a bomb against a rear door of the Socialist Workers Party headquarters in Los Angeles.

Jim Little, an SWP campaign supporter, was driving toward the headquarters and spotted the bomber. Little prevented what could have been a fatal explosion.

"When the attacker saw me," Little told reporters, "he very coolly placed a white handkerchief around the bomb and picked it up. He walked to the window of my car and threatened me with a pistol he carried in his belt. He then fled out the back alley."

"I can positively identify this man if I ever see him again."

A call was received at the SWP office thirty minutes after the bomb attempt. The caller said, "The bomb that didn't go off tonight will go off later. If you don't believe me ask your commie buddies around Wilshire."

The Communist Party office that was attacked is located on Wilshire Boulevard.

When the bomber was discovered

outside the SWP office, a meeting of about twenty people was in progress only a few yards from the door. The effect of the blast would have been lethal.

The meeting in the SWP office was to map out plans for the fight to win a spot on the California ballot. Both the Communist Party and the Socialist Workers Party were illegally ruled off the ballot by the administration of California Gov. Edmund Brown. Both parties submitted far more than the required 101,300 signatures to win a place on the ballot. Both are involved in court actions and protests of the discriminatory ballot exclusion.

At a September 24 news conference, SWP congressional candidate Mark Friedman demanded action by the authorities against the terrorists. He tied the attacks to the ballot fight.

"Both the CP and the SWP were fraudulently ruled off the California ballot," he said. "This action by Gov. Jerry Brown emboldens the right wing and creates the climate for this kind of terrorism."

"It is entirely possible that this violent attack was directed against my campaign committee because I am running against the Grand Dragon of the Ku Klux Klan, Democratic Party candidate for Congress Thomas Metzger."

Friedman, a Machinists Union member from San Diego, is the candidate in the Forty-third Congressional District. The Brown administration ruled Friedman off the November election ballot along with the other SWP

candidates.

At the Los Angeles news conference, Friedman pledged that the SWP would not be intimidated by the bombing threats. He said the party would push ahead on the fight to win its position on the ballot and continue other activities. In particular he announced that the public forum in defense of school busing and desegregation scheduled to be held at the Los Angeles campaign headquarters Saturday, September 27, would go on as scheduled. Speakers at the meeting will include representatives of the NAACP, the Hispanic Urban Center, and the United Teachers of Los Angeles, in addition to the SWP.

Busing to desegregate schools in Los Angeles has just begun. Members of the board of education have openly been involved in organizing racist mobilizations against busing.

At the news conference were representatives of the Peace and Freedom Party and the Socialist Party. Both condemned the attacks against the CP and the SWP.

The bombings follow by only a few days the frame-up arrests in San Diego of two Black civil rights activists by the San Diego police in a Klan-related incident.

According to the September 20 *People's World*, the West Coast Communist Party weekly paper, Deacon Alexander, chairman of the Los Angeles chapter of the National Alliance Against Racist and Political Repression (NAARPR), and chapter member Bob Duren were arrested for attempted

murder, conspiracy, and assault on a police officer.

The arrests took place at a meeting of the San Diego County Democratic Party Central Committee, which was attended by Klan Democrat Thomas Metzger and his accompanying gang of thugs.

A number of NAARPR members were at the meeting, including the organization's executive secretary Charlene Mitchell.

As Alexander was getting up to leave, a man jumped him. Assuming it was an attack by the Klan, Duren went to Alexander's aid.

Uniformed cops then intervened and arrested them, announcing that the man who attacked Alexander was an out-of-uniform San Diego cop.

During the fight a .25 caliber pistol appeared. According to Alexander and Duren, it was planted by the police.

The police version is that the plain-clothes cop jumped Alexander because he saw him draw the pistol.

According to the Escondido, California, *Times-Advocate*, Metzger, the Klan Democrat, claimed he had been warned before the meeting by police that there would be trouble. Afterwards, Metzger claimed the police had foiled an attempt on his life.

Alexander and Duren were released from jail on bail totaling \$32,000. The attempted murder and conspiracy charges were dropped, but they still face serious charges, including assaulting a police officer with a deadly weapon.

gather a class action suit to keep them from putting a missile back in the silo.

"People ask us what we are going to do," Sam said. "Well we were here before they were, and we are not leaving. My father, and his father before him, were on this land."

"It's not like someone renting a house," Ray Hutto said. "You can't just pick up and move. I've worked hard all my life. My whole life is invested in this. I just hope they don't put it back."

As we were leaving they asked us if we were going to join the media for the tour of the missile site about to begin in fifteen minutes. Along the road a few hundred yards away, dozens of reporters and cameramen had been waiting for hours. The Cable News Network had a big transmitter to beam a signal to its satellite.

We told them no, we're not going on the tour; that we agreed with them that the Air Force wasn't likely to tell you much. We said we think we learned more from them than we are likely to learn from the Air Force on the official tour.

Sure enough, the papers the next morning said that the Air Force let the press get only within 200 feet of the site of the explosion and then refused to answer any questions.

...farmers

Continued from page 3

ing the government from putting a missile back in the silo.

As for the irony of the fact that all of this military hardware is supposedly here to protect American citizens, he says, "It's done a lot more harm to us than the Russians."

Just down the road we found Sam Hutto, Jeff's cousin, working in a barn on his dairy farm.

Sam Hutto, twenty-six, has become a bit of a celebrity in the past couple of days. He's one of the few who actually saw the explosion.

"All they told us was that it was a gas leak. But, of course, we can't put a lot of stock in what they tell us anyway."

"So I was coming in to try to milk. I was coming over a hill in my truck when I saw a big white ball of flames shoot up into the air. I made a U-turn and headed the other way. I went and got Daddy and my wife and headed for Conway."

Listening to the Air Force radio, Hutto heard what sounded like massive confusion as the military tried to figure out what to do.

The next day he climbed up on top of

a silo on his farm and with a pair of binoculars surveyed the damage.

"It threw out pieces of granite half the size of a house," he said.

Later he watched as they tried to load the warhead. "They fooled around with a crane a long time. Picking it up and then letting it back down."

He said he "hasn't found anybody" who believes the Air Force's story, that the incident resulted from someone dropping a wrench socket and knocking a hole in the side of the missile. "If that's so, then the thing can't be any thicker than a Prince Albert can. How could you have ever launched it without blowing up in a ball of flames? That's probably the first story that some bird colonel could come up with."

"It might not have been so bad if this was the first time," he continued. "But I remember after the last time, they called a meeting at the church. They had the Air Force, the Civil Defense, and the Health Department. They showed all these diagrams about how a missile works, and so forth, and how it's safe. Then they asked if there were any questions."

"Well, everything we asked, they said the same thing, 'We can't talk about that.' I mean everything."

"Maybe the reason they built these

things in Arkansas is because they thought that we were all a bunch of dumb hicks."

Ray Hutto, sixty-two, is Sam's father. He came over and joined the conversation.

He said he remembered when they first installed the missiles around here in the early 1960s.

"I never thought much about it. You ought to have faith in the government—that they wouldn't let anything happen. But it makes you wonder."

He recalled how the Air Force had reassured him that there was nothing to worry about during the incident in 1978. But then the orange clouds came rolling out, and it was only by chance that the wind carried it toward John Stacks's farm and not the field where he was working. The Health Department ordered them to throw out about \$500 of milk a day for several days, and the Air Force never agreed to pay a cent in damages.

"I remember seeing on television how those boys in Wyoming lost all those sheep because they were testing nerve gas. The government never gave them a thing. You know if you owe the government something, they'd sure get it."

Ray and Sam Hutto said there is talk of John Stacks's lawyer getting to-

Socialist hits nuclear danger

The following statement was released by Mohammed Oliver, Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. Senate from Alabama, after his return from Damascus, Arkansas.

The existence of the Titan II weapon system and the rest of the United States nuclear arsenal is a mortal threat to workers and farmers everywhere. Fifty-five people have already died as a result of accidents at Titan II missile sites.

But the very existence of the human race would be ended if the death-dealing destruction of Titan II were released.

As with the Three Mile Island disaster and the cancer-causing

chemical waste beneath Love Canal, the government is hiding the real facts about the silo explosion at Damascus, Arkansas.

In Alabama we had the experience of the army dumping tons of deadly DDT in the water of Triana, where the mainly Black residents live largely off fishing.

I join with the workers and farmers in Damascus in demanding the full story of last week's explosion.

Moreover, I demand that the United States government disarm its entire nuclear arsenal and remove the threat of annihilation that hangs over the head of the human race.



Mohammed Oliver, SWP candidate for U.S. Senate from Alabama, examines wreckage in Damascus.

Calif. ballot exclusion: the target is labor

By Susie Berman

A national drive has been launched to fight for placing the Socialist Workers Party candidates on the 1980 California ballot. The SWP is urging unionists, women, Black and Chicano rights fighters, and all supporters of democratic rights to send telegrams to Gov. Edmund Brown protesting the illegal exclusion of the SWP from the ballot.

The SWP is running Andrew Pulley for president and Matilde Zimmermann for vice-president. The party's presidential ticket and local candidates were ruled off the ballot in August by the California Secretary of State.

In spite of overwhelming evidence of fraud on the part of state officials, a Superior Court judge refused September 12 to order the state to put the socialists on the ballot.

A legal appeal of that ruling is currently being prepared.

Workers in California and the rest of the country have a big stake in this fight for access to the ballot. While the SWP is the immediate victim, the real target is the labor movement as a whole.

California has been the site of one of the most active discussions of the need for the unions to form a labor party. The leadership of the state AFL-CIO has been involved. Articles have appeared in state, county, and local union newspapers.

The Superior Court ruling against the SWP came only days after the biggest development yet in the labor party discussion. The million-member Machinists union, one of the strongest industrial unions in California, at its international convention in Cincinnati voted to initiate meetings with the object of discussing and forming a labor party. This union convention voted against endorsing Carter or anyone else for president in 1980.

The SWP conducted a tremendous and well-publicized effort to gather more than 152,000 signatures of voters, 50 percent more than required to obtain ballot status.

The SWP candidates and supporters are known as the most vigorous advocates of forming a labor party now.

The stakes in this fight are high. Brown wants to keep labor party sup-

porters off the ballot. He wants to stop the discussion about independent labor political action. It will take a national protest effort to win the fight to put the SWP on the ballot.

Rank-and-file union members at some of the key industries in the state are hearing about the ballot fight and responding. At the recent large union contract meetings of aerospace workers, thousands of leaflets explaining the ballot fight were distributed, and SWP campaigners report a sympathetic response.

Some seventy California union leaders endorsed the SWP ballot fight at the state AFL-CIO convention.

Telegrams from every state should flood Governor Brown's office. More than 500,000 people throughout the country signed petitions to put the SWP on the ballot this year. We have already been certified in twenty-five states plus the District of Columbia.

The real stakes in this case should be brought to the attention of leaders of unions and other organizations around the country.

Protest telegrams should be sent to Gov. Edmund Brown, State Capitol, Sacramento, California 95814. Send copies to the California Socialist Work-

Labor leaders back ballot spot

At the recent AFL-CIO convention in California, dozens of union officials signed a letter to Secretary of State March Fong Eu asking that the Socialist Workers Party be placed on the ballot. Among the signers were J.J. Rodriguez, president of the Los Angeles County Federation of Labor; William Robertson, executive secretary of the County Federation of Labor; Raoul Teillet, president of the California Federation of Teachers; and Timothy Twomey, international vice-president of the Service Employees International Union.

ers 1980 Campaign Committee, 2864 Telegraph, Oakland, California 94609 and to the SWP National Campaign Committee, 14 Charles Lane, New York, New York 10014.

Aerospace workers: interest in labor party, ballot fight

By Rebecca Finch

LOS ANGELES—Socialist campaigners took the fight to put SWP candidates on the California ballot to thousands of aerospace workers this week. The socialists distributed 5,000 copies of a statement from Mark Friedman, SWP candidate for Congress in the Forty-third C.D., and George Johnson, SWP candidate for U.S. Senate at three mass meetings sponsored by the International Association of Machinists and the United Auto Workers unions.

The meetings were called to discuss the upcoming contract negotiations at the McDonnell-Douglas and Lockheed plants. Friedman is a member of the IAM, and Johnson belongs to the UAW.

"I wholeheartedly endorse the actions taken at the recent Interna-

tional Association of Machinists convention to initiate discussions about the possibility of organizing a labor party," read Friedman's statement.

"Working people need their own political party. Because I am a working person running for political office, and because I support the idea of a labor party, Gov. Jerry Brown is trying to keep me off the ballot. This is aimed at discouraging the labor movement from running its own candidates for public office."

It was the first time that the overwhelming majority of these workers had heard about the labor party idea and the socialist fight to get on the ballot in California. Both ideas got a friendly response.

Seventy *Militants* and two subscriptions were sold at the meeting.



More than 500,000 people around the country signed to put socialists on ballot. Protest telegrams from every state are needed to fight exclusion of socialists from California ballot.

Texas ballot fight: 'it's a matter of principle'

By Regina Dotson

HOUSTON—On September 22 the Socialist Workers Party filed suit against Texas Secretary of State George Strake demanding ballot status.

The SWP was ruled off the ballot August 19 after submitting 38,453 signatures, far exceeding the 23,698 required.

The suit challenges the verification procedure used by the state to check the petitions. In the random sample of one percent of the names, officials refused to accept the signatures of voters who have moved but are still legally registered.

This procedure is so unfair that the signature of the SWP congressional candidate from Dallas, Lea Sherman, would be invalid. The voter list still contains an address she had two years ago, even though she informed the registrar of her move and even voted at her new address.

The random sample procedure lends itself to discriminatory treatment by the state. It is inherently undemocratic to check only 389 out of more than 38,000 signatures, as Texas officials claim to have done.

In fact the sample by the state did not even follow the procedures specified in the law. A sampling done by the SWP, following the state requirements to the letter, found a validity rate in excess of the ballot requirements.

State officials have tried to keep the socialists off the ballot in almost every election.

In 1974 the SWP was ordered on the ballot when a judge ruled that the random sample method of checking petitions was illegal because it was not specified in the law.

The state remedied that by passing a special law authorizing random sample checking.

In subsequent years the SWP won ballot status thanks to significant public support from Black, Chicano, labor, civil liberties, and women's rights figures, backing up the tens of thousands of voter signatures.

The SWP won a lot of respect in Texas in the early 1970s for helping lead a campaign against police and Ku Klux Klan terror.

An impressive list of people have already sent protests to the Secretary of State demanding the SWP be put on the 1980 ballot.

These include San Antonio City Council member Bernardo Eureste, who is co-chairman of the Carter Presidential Campaign Committee in Texas. A major article appearing in the *San Antonio News* September 24 headlined Eureste's support for the SWP's ballot rights. He explained that "it is a matter of principle."

Other supporters of the ballot fight include officials of the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers Union, Houston

Federation of Teachers, and the United Auto Workers; members of the city council and school board in Dallas; Zavala County judge and Chicano leader José Angel Gutiérrez; leaders of the National Organization for Women, including the entire Dallas County chapter; prominent civil liberties figures; the editors of *La Prensa* in Houston, *El Pueblo* in San Antonio, and *Dallas Freedom News*; the manager of KPFT radio in Houston; faculty members at Southern Methodist and

Trinity universities, San Antonio and Bishop colleges, the University of Texas at Arlington and San Antonio, and many other individuals.

Further messages of protest should be sent to Texas Secretary of State George W. Strake, Jr., State Capitol, Austin, Texas 78711. Send copies to Texas Fair Ballot Committee, P.O. Box 61678, Houston, Texas 77208. Funds to continue publicizing this case are urgently needed.

Ariz. SWP firebombed

The Socialist Workers campaign held a well-attended news conference in Phoenix, Arizona, September 24. Josefina Otero, the SWP candidate for U.S. Senate, announced that her offices had been firebombed the night before. The SWP has been certified for the November ballot in Arizona.

Just after midnight the campaign headquarters was attacked. A Molotov cocktail was thrown at the plate-glass entrance. Fortunately the glass deflected the bomb and only the entrance was burned.

On September 20, Phoenix Ku Klux Klan leader Paul Driggers and another Klan thug had tried to

enter the socialists' election campaign rally. The socialists told them to leave, and they did so.

"Whoever is responsible for this bombing is tampering with the Arizona elections. That is a federal offense," Otero declared.

"I demand an immediate investigation and prosecution of the people responsible for the bombing."

"I ask all concerned people to demand immediate action by the authorities against the terrorists."

Communist Party candidate for U.S. Senate from Arizona, Lorenzo Torres, contacted the SWP to express his solidarity against the attack.

Revolution scores new gain

Cuban astronaut: first Black on space flight

By Harry Ring

UNITED NATIONS, N.Y.—Revolutionary Cuba is jubilant at having its first cosmonaut in outer space.

Cubans point with pride to the fact that Arnaldo Tamayo Méndez is the first Latin American to become a cosmonaut.

An Afro-Cuban, Tamayo is also the world's first Black person to explore outer space.

At a special press conference here September 19, Dr. Raúl Roa Kouri, Cuba's ambassador to the UN, said that news of the successful takeoff by Tamayo and a Soviet cosmonaut "was greeted with great joy throughout our country."

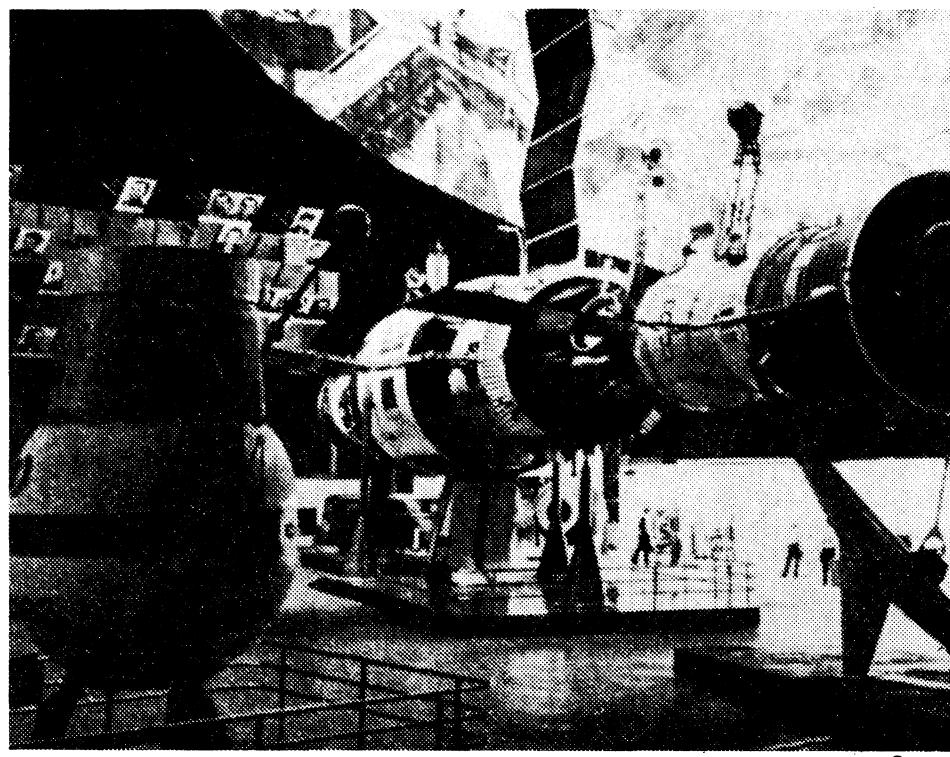
He added: "As a Cuban I am indeed proud that Lt. Colonel Arnaldo Tamayo Méndez is the first citizen of Latin America to fulfill humanity's dream of exploring the cosmos."

Tamayo and his Soviet partner were hurtled into space from a launching pad in the USSR September 18. Two days later they left their spacecraft and joined two other Soviet scientists in a space laboratory that has been aloft nearly six months.

The venture is part of a thirteen-year-old scientific program, Intercosmos, led by the Soviet Union. Cuba has participated in the project from the outset.

Recently, cosmonauts from Czechoslovakia, Poland, the German Democratic Republic, Bulgaria, Hungary, and Vietnam participated in joint flights with Soviet space scientists.

Dr. Roa said that in addition to the broad general fields of investigation, there will be a number of specific benefits to Cuban science. These will include specialized photographic studies of Cuba's land and water areas that will be of value in terms of productivity, control of atmospheric and marine contamination, and other areas.



Soviet space complex

Granma

Now thirty-eight, Lt. Colonel Tamayo came from a poor working-class family. At age thirteen he was shining shoes and working as a vegetable vendor. His first salaried job was as a carpenter's assistant.

He was seventeen when Batista was overthrown and immediately joined the Association of Rebel Youth, the first youth organization created by the revolution.

He was able to study at a technological institute and, on joining Cuba's Rebel Army, he was trained to become a combat pilot.

By 1976, he had attained his present rank of lieutenant colonel and in 1977 was selected to participate in the Intercosmos program.

At the press conference here, one

reporter asked Dr. Roa how his government justified participation in a costly space program while Cubans suffered "hunger" and "necessity."

Roa responded that while the program was obviously costly, the cost was borne by the Soviet Union.

He added, "I definitely agree there is necessity in our country. But I definitely disagree there is hunger. The living standard of our people is higher than that of practically all of Latin America, not to speak of Africa or Asia."

What are Cuba's budgetary priorities? the reporter persisted.

"The first priority of the Cuban Revolution," Roa responded, "has been the education, the well-being and the

public health of our people. . . . The money that goes into these programs is by far the largest of any comparable underdeveloped country."

As a consequence, he continued, "We have attained a very high level of public health in our country. Also a very high level of protein consumption and of nutrition.

"We do, of course, spend money in development and research in several fields. But the money which goes into that is much smaller than that devoted to economic and social development."

What, a reporter wanted to know, did socialism have to do with the Cuban cosmonaut's accomplishment?

Tamayo, Roa responded, was born into a poor family. What he accomplished was, "first of all, the results of his own efforts, but under a social system that provided him an opportunity to become a cosmonaut."

Cuba, he added, is an underdeveloped country striving to build socialism "under very difficult conditions."

"Cuba," he said, "which only twenty-one years ago was not really independent, now has a cosmonaut."

"I think that this is a matter for inspiration for all those who believe in social progress."

Roa mentioned that Tamayo had taken on the flight a number of symbolic objects representing Cuba's historical, cultural, and revolutionary traditions.

Among these were portraits of José Martí, Fidel Castro, and Che Guevara, a copy of Fidel's *History Will Absolve Me*, and a replica of the yacht, *Granma*, in which the July 26 fighters sailed from Mexico to Cuba in 1956.

Also, Roa added, "sand from Giron Beach, where imperialism was first defeated in America."

Roa protests failure to apprehend assassins

UNITED NATIONS, N.Y.—At his press conference here Cuban UN Ambassador Raúl Roa also answered questions relating to the September 11 assassination of Cuban UN Mission attaché Félix García Rodríguez. The Omega 7 terrorist group has claimed responsibility for the killing.

One reporter, referring to the threats against Roa by García's killers, asked,

Minnesotans denounce slaying

By Vivian Sahner

Thirty-six Twin Cities citizens, including Minneapolis Mayor Don Fraser and three state legislators, have signed a statement protesting the assassination of Cuban UN attaché Félix García Rodriguez.

At a September 19 press conference in the Minnesota Press Club, signers told the media, "We demand immediate action to stop Omega 7 from carrying out its publicly announced plans to murder Cuban U.N. Ambassador Raúl Roa. . . . We call on the federal government, the mayor of New York City and the New York City police to take immediate action to arrest and prosecute the Omega 7 murderers."

Additional signers of the statement include Yusef Mgeni, U.S.-Grenada Friendship Society; Ileana Rodríguez, Nicaragua Solidarity Committee; Clyde Bellecourt, American Indian Movement; Jeff Pike, Stop the Draft Committee; John Stuart, National Lawyers Guild; and James Kendrick, Socialist Workers candidate for Congress.

"How does it feel to be a sitting duck, a target for Omega 7?"

Roa responded, "I'm not a sitting duck. . . . You can be sure that I'm not sitting anywhere waiting for assassins to come and try to kill me."

"On the other hand," he added, "what I'm really concerned about is that the people who recently assassinated our comrade and collaborator

Félix García are still at large."

Asked if he had received any progress report on the investigation from New York or federal authorities, Roa said that the day after the killing he had been assured by Mayor Edward Koch and the U.S. ambassador to the UN that the authorities were taking "all necessary measures" in the matter.

"But," Roa commented, "if they have received any progress report, they have not informed me."

Apparently, there is no "progress." The September 21 *New York Times* reported:

"Nine days after the slaying . . . the police said yesterday that they had found no witnesses and had no definite leads to the killer."

Roa cited an ominous related development. He said that the day previous it had been reported that the Venezuelan government was considering releasing a group of counterrevolutionary Cuban terrorists who in 1976 had planted a bomb on a Cuban passenger liner. It exploded over Barbados killing eighty people.

In addition, Roa said, he was also "amazed" that a U.S. federal appeals court had ordered retrials in the cases of the assassins convicted of the murder of former Chilean attaché Orlando Letelier in Washington.

"The fact that this decision comes perhaps eighteen hours after a Cuban diplomat is slain in New York City," Roa emphasized, "is food for thought. And the thoughts are not very encouraging."

Asked if he saw a "conspiracy" between the government and Omega 7, Roa noted that the reporter had used the word, not he.

He said, "I think no sufficient measures have been taken to arrest and bring to justice these terrorists. Most of the people in Omega 7, and other such groups, have been here for many years. They were originally trained by the CIA. . . . So I think they are well known. This is a fact that is not disputed by the authorities. They say, 'Yes, we know them, but we have no proof they participated in specific acts.'"

Discussing the isolation of the terrorists from the people of Cuba, and from the U.S. Cuban community as well, Roa declared, "It is evident that they are in a weak position. This is an act of desperation. They really have nothing left except to resort to terrorism. Politically, they are a lot that has failed."

—Harry Ring



RAUL ROA

Militant/Harry Ring

N.Y. meeting for ex-dictator of Grenada turns into pro-revolution demonstration

By Arnold Weissberg

BROOKLYN, N.Y.—Chanting, "USA-CIA, hands off Grenada!" several hundred supporters of the Grenadian revolution turned a scheduled speaking appearance by the island's ex-dictator, Eric Gairy, into a rally supporting the revolution.

Gairy's September 21 meeting was his first in public since his brutal regime was overturned more than a year ago. The meeting was intended as a step toward returning him to power to erase the gains won by the working people of Grenada. There are numerous reports that Gairy is trying to organize counterrevolutionary mercenaries in this country to invade the island.

The meeting, held at New York City Technical College, was built through expensive invitations. No sponsors were listed. However, among the speakers was Theodore Britton, former U.S. ambassador to the Eastern Caribbean.

The U.S. government, which supported Gairy in power, has allowed the man called "Grenada's shah" to live in this country and has refused Grenada's request to extradite him, even though it admits there is a sound legal basis for the request.

It is widely believed among the Caribbean population here that Washington was behind Gairy's sudden reappearance.

The anti-Gairy protest was supported by a number of organizations. These included: the Grenada Revolu-

tionary League; Caribbean People's Alliance; Afro-Caribbean Club of New York City Technical College; U.S.-Grenada Friendship Society; Socialist Workers Party; Young Socialist Alliance; Puerto Rican Socialist Party; and Casa Nicaragua.

There were but a few dozen of Gairy's hangers-on in the hall, as against several hundred who were totally hostile to him.

Gairy was not on the heavily guarded platform. Former U.S. ambassador Britton spoke, attacking anti-Gairy people in the audience. Ignoring Washington's support for the Gairy dictatorship, he denounced "Americans interjecting themselves into Grenadian affairs."

He singled out for attack "groups like the Socialist Workers Party." During a picket prior to the meeting, SWP members had been visible with signs supporting the Grenadian revolution.

This crude red-baiting effort was totally rejected by the crowd. Britton was drowned out by a cheering uproar.

The cheers turned into chants of "USA-CIA, hands off Grenada!"

Ignoring Britton's advice that "chanting doesn't solve anything," the crowd switched to "Forward ever, Backward never!" the slogan of Grenada's revolutionary organization, the New Jewel Movement. To this they added, "Bishop yes, Gairy no." Maurice Bishop is the prime minister of Grenada's revolutionary government.

After some twenty minutes of chanting, Sam Manuel of the U.S.-Grenada Friendship Society stood up on auditorium seats and talked about Gairy and the Grenadian revolution.

"Gairy expressing his point of view is not the issue," Manuel declared to cheers. "Gairy is like the shah. Every mass murderer in the world—the shah, Somoza, Batista—has come to the U.S. for refuge. We say, no more! Send Gairy back to Grenada to face the charges against him."

Manuel said supporters of the revolution must bring the examples of its gains to U.S. workers.

After Manuel finished, the chanting picked up again, this time including, "Gairy, show your face."

At the request of protest monitors, the crowd sat down, waiting for Gairy to appear.

Just then, a single Grenadian youth darted onto the stage, caught the guards unawares, and yelled into the microphone, "Long live Bishop!" This set off another round of chants.

In the face of hundreds of militant supporters of the Grenadian revolution, Gairy did not appear.

Instead, heated debates between crowds of pro-revolutionary Grenadians and the handful of Gairy supporters broke out around the auditorium.

Two hours after Gairy was supposed to appear, an official announced the location of his speech would be moved to the gymnasium next door. Campus police emptied the auditorium.

Campus security cops, augmented by city police, then screened people going into the gym, arbitrarily refusing most of them admission. Later, anti-Gairy protesters were told, "There are no seats available." The crowd of anti-Gairy protesters excluded from the meeting was far larger than the group inside.

While not publicly advertised, the Gairy meeting was widely known among New York's Caribbean population, which numbers some half million.

Radio station WLIB, which features Caribbean music and news, reported on the meeting in advance and carried a statement by Keith Jones, Socialist Workers candidate for Congress in Brooklyn, demanding that Gairy be extradited to Grenada.

During the successful protest action, members of the U.S.-Grenada Friendship Society were interviewed via a telephone hookup broadcast live in Grenada.

Later, an official contacted at the Grenadian Mission to the UN told the *Militant* that "people in the United States are able to identify with the aspirations of the Grenadian people."

"Black people in the U.S.—in Harlem, Detroit, Brooklyn—and progressive white people are not going to sit down and allow the squashing of the Grenadian revolution."

"Any and all attempts by imperialism to turn us back will be answered in our country, in the Caribbean, and around the world."

Socialists top 1,000 goal in subscription drive

By Nancy Rosenstock

We made it! Our goal was to win 1,000 new readers to the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial* during the first week of our ten-week subscription drive. Though reports from all areas are not complete, initial results show that we sold 1,047 new subscriptions.

This week we are printing the first scoreboard. The scoreboard doesn't show last-minute results called in. It reflects only those subscriptions actually on hand at the circulation office in New York. Twenty-one areas are already ahead of schedule. Kansas City now joins Atlanta as the second area to raise its subscription goal. Kansas City socialists are aiming to gather 110 new subscriptions, up from their previous goal of 90.

Many other areas that are ahead of schedule are having discussions on raising their goals. And those that are behind are making plans to catch up. San Francisco socialists are organizing a big effort for Saturday, September 27. Newark, Manhattan, and Brooklyn are planning a mobilization of socialists for Sunday, September 28, to catch up and possibly get ahead of schedule.

The *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial* will be getting out in more areas than those listed on the scoreboard. During this past week, supporters in Blacksburg, Virginia, and Gulfport, Florida, have joined in the drive to circulate the campaign press.

Many of our 1,047 new readers have come from working-class neighborhoods, especially in the Black community, where socialists have been campaigning door to door. Socialists in Kansas City and Atlanta, who are doing very well, have been campaigning in neighborhoods where their co-workers live.

Pittsburgh and Milwaukee have had experiences in sending teams out to neighboring industrial cities or towns. Pittsburgh has sent teams to coal mining communities and to towns where there are many steelworkers. Milwaukee sent a team to Kenosha, Wisconsin, site of an auto workers'

strike against American Motors.

Socialists who work in the large industrial plants of this country are gathering subscriptions from their co-workers. Many industrial fractions are taking on goals and are meeting with remarkable success. In Indianapolis, three socialists who work at the United Steelworkers-organized Stewart-Warner Corporation set themselves a goal of twenty subscriptions during the ten-week drive. They have already sold fourteen. In Chicago, socialist rail workers have set a goal of forty and have already sold fifteen. In Albuquerque, Manuel Archuleta, Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. Congress, works in the giant General Electric plant. He has already sold six subscriptions to co-workers.

Socialists have also been campaigning and selling subscriptions to the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial* on the college campuses. Portland socialists have met with a very favorable response to the revolutionary press at Lewis and Clark College in conjunction with building a meeting for Socialist Workers Party vice-presidential candidate Matilde Zimmermann. One student has already joined the Young Socialist Alliance. They will be following up on these initial gains by building a meeting for Kara Obradović, who is on a national Young Socialist speaking tour about the 1980 SWP election campaign.

Special attention needs to be placed on the winning of new subscribers to *Perspectiva Mundial*. The scoreboard shows that we are behind schedule in subscriptions received in the circulation office for *PM*. Special *PM* subscription teams need to be organized. San Francisco and San Antonio have plans to send teams to Spanish-speaking neighborhoods, introducing people to *PM*. Socialists in Atlanta will be setting up a table focusing on *PM* at Georgia State University, where a number of Latino students attend college. Another aspect of our fall circulation plans is sales of the *Young Socialist*, the monthly newspaper of the Young Socialist Alliance.

subscription scoreboard

As of September 20, 1980

AREA	MILITANT GOAL	SUBS REC'D	PM GOAL	SUBS REC'D	TOTAL GOAL	TOTAL REC'D	%
Kansas City	100	38	10	2	110	40	35
Indianapolis	110	35	10	1	120	36	28
Milwaukee	100	31	20	1	120	32	25
New Orleans	90	25	10	1	100	26	25
Albuquerque	60	17	20	2	80	19	24
Piedmont	100	23	0	1	100	24	24
Salt Lake City	90	23	10	3	100	26	24
Atlanta	110	26	10	1	120	27	23
Portland	95	22	0	0	95	22	22
Iron Range	90	17	0	5	90	22	21
Phoenix	55	16	20	2	75	18	21
San Diego	70	16	30	4	100	20	19
Baltimore	115	18	5	2	120	20	16
Twin Cities	190	35	10	2	200	37	16
Denver	85	15	15	0	100	15	15
Pittsburgh	165	28	10	1	175	29	15
Dallas	75	13	25	2	100	15	14
Seattle	210	32	15	0	225	32	14
Cincinnati	120	15	0	1	120	16	13
Morgantown	100	13	0	0	100	13	13
Toledo	60	8	0	0	60	8	13
Manhattan	300	47	200	21	500	68	12
Brooklyn	300	41	100	5	400	46	11
Miami	60	11	30	1	90	12	11
Gary	85	12	15	0	100	12	10
Louisville	100	9	0	0	100	9	9
Cleveland	100	10	30	2	130	12	8
Detroit	185	15	15	1	200	16	8
Chicago	300	25	50	1	350	26	7
Oakland	125	12	50	2	175	14	7
Boston	210	16	40	0	250	16	6
Philadelphia	115	7	35	1	150	8	5
San Jose	100	6	50	2	150	8	5
Los Angeles	200	12	150	5	350	17	4
St. Louis	120	4	0	1	120	5	4
Capital District	100	3	20	0	120	3	3
Newark	240	8	60	2	300	10	3
San Antonio	60	3	30	0	90	3	3
San Francisco	100	5	100	0	200	5	3
Washington, D.C.	85	2	45	1	130	3	2
Houston	105	1	35	0	140	1	1
Tidewater	120	1	0	0	120	1	1
Birmingham	50	0	0	0	50	0	0
TOTAL	5350	716	1275	76	6625	792	12
Miscellaneous	375	49	0	9	375	58	15
National Teams		3		0	1000	3	1
TOTAL NATIONAL GOAL	5725	768	1275	85	8000	853	11
SHOULD BE		841		159		1000	13

Behind Carter's 'neutral' pose

Iraqi regime's invasion strikes at Iranian

By Janice Lynn

The all-out offensive launched September 22 by the Iraqi regime, following several weeks of escalating border attacks on Iran, fits in with the drive by U.S. imperialism to crush the Iranian revolution.

Reports from both Iran and Iraq indicate that a full-scale war has erupted. On September 24 Iraqi war planes, supplemented by artillery shelling, repeatedly bombed Iran's largest oil refinery at Abadan. The huge oil and gas storage tanks were ablaze. The Abadan refinery, the world's largest, supplies all of Iran's domestic energy.

In addition, the Iraqi regime claims its troops have "encircled and cut off completely" three Iranian cities—Abadan, the oil-exporting port at nearby Khorramshahr, and the northern city of Qasr-e Shirin.

Two days earlier, Iraqi war planes had carried out a bombing raid on Tehran's Mehrabad international airport. Ten Iranian airfields were confirmed to have been hit.

Retaliatory raids

Iranian planes reportedly carried out retaliatory raids against Iraqi targets, including Baghdad.

The Iraqi military offensive began without any provocation by the Iranian government. The assault followed a declaration by Iraqi President Saddam Hussein on September 17 that a 1975 agreement giving Iran partial sovereignty over the Shatt al Arab estuary was henceforth "null and void." The estuary lies between Iran and Iraq near the Persian Gulf; it forms part of the western border of Iran's oil-producing Khuzestan Province. Hussein's statement vowed that Iraq would recover the territory by force.

The latest major escalation has strengthened the conviction in Iran that U.S. imperialism stands to gain the most from the Iraqi aggression. Hashemi Rafsanjani, speaker of Iran's parliament, declared September 22 that "the Iraqi attack against Iran is part of a U.S. plot."

Rafsanjani added that the attacks would certainly affect the situation surrounding the U.S. hostages. Rafsanjani repeated that a decision on release of the hostages depends on Washington's agreement to the legitimate demands of the Iranian people, "especially our demand for the return of the Shah's wealth."

Muskie's move

On the very same day that the Iraqi regime launched its full-scale assault, U.S. Secretary of State Edmund Muskie, speaking before the United Nations General Assembly, hypocritically urged the Iranian parliament to consider the "human face of the hostage problem." Once the hostages have been released, he said, Washington is "prepared to deal, on a basis of mutual respect and equality, with all the outstanding issues and misunderstandings between Iran and the United States. . . ."

But no amount of tired or hollow promises can substitute for meeting Iran's reasonable demands. And no amount of "conciliatory" language can counteract the record of Washington's ongoing complicity with counterrevolutionary pro-shah forces now based in Iraq.

These reactionary forces include Shahpur Bakhtiar, the shah's last handpicked prime minister, as well as the shah's former top generals, Gholam Oveissi and Ahmed Palizban. Oveissi, notorious inside Iran as the "butcher," was directly responsible for the "Black Friday" massacre of peaceful anti-shah protesters in September 1978.

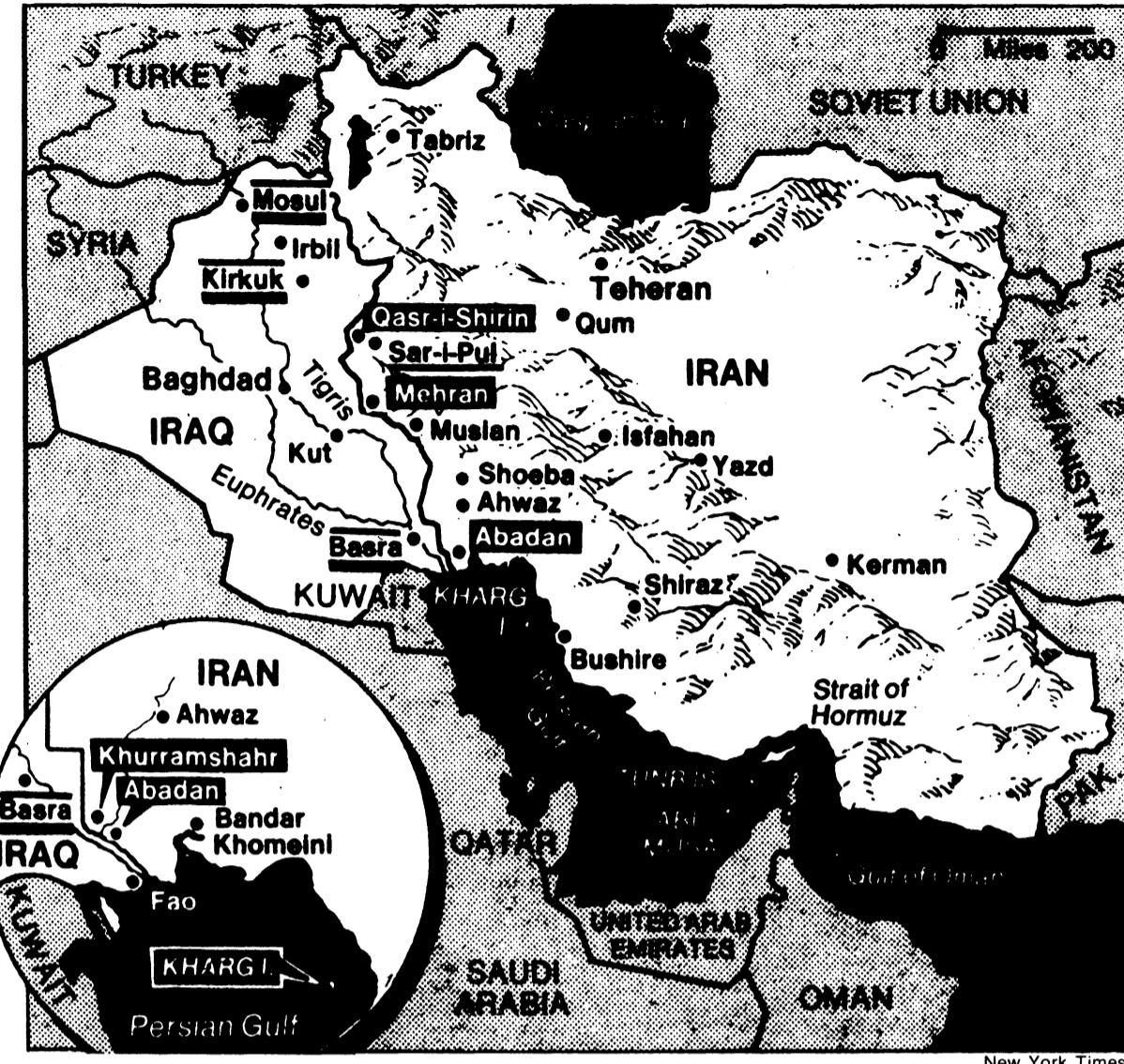
William Sullivan, who was U.S. ambassador to Iran during the 1978-79 revolution, has recently documented in *Foreign Policy* magazine that the Carter administration sought to maintain this gang of murderers in power to the bitter end.

Iranian rightists

And Washington is still banking on these same rightist forces to overturn the current Iranian government and put a halt to the deepening of the revolution.

Since Oveissi fled Iran in early 1979, he has spent a good portion of his time in the United States. Washington officials acknowledge that they have met with Oveissi, but they have refused to comment on their discussions.

After several visits to Iraq and a meeting with Iraqi President Hussein, Bakhtiar hooked up last June with both Oveissi and Palizban. *Christian Science Monitor* correspondent John Cooley disclosed that the three reached agreement on military



New York Times

operations based in Iraq. Iranian émigré sources told Cooley that both generals had been gathering forces and arms for an Iraqi-supported attack against the Iranian revolution.

Oveissi has set up bases in Iraq, and there are reports that the Hussein regime has supplied him with money, arms, and other military equipment. Oveissi has also established a radio transmitter in Iraq to beam anti-Khomeini messages into Iran.

It is hardly unreasonable to suggest that funding for Oveissi comes from the same source as funding for similar anti-Khomeini broadcasts beamed from Egypt. U.S. officials acknowledged last June that the Egyptian operation is bankrolled by the CIA.

Washington's "Iraq option" is one aspect of the same overall policy that led to its abortive attempt last April at a raid on Tehran. Despite U.S. claims that it was a "humanitarian rescue mission," the raid clearly had much broader aims, in line with Washington's goal of overthrowing the Iranian government and replacing it with one more accommodating to imperialist interests in the region.

Coup attempt

Governments throughout the Islamic world condemned this U.S. military attack on Iran, including even such servile rightist regimes as that of Gen. Zia ul-Haq in Pakistan. In Iraq, however, the state radio derisively described the raid as play-acting orchestrated between Tehran and Washington. In a shameless display of hypocrisy, the Iraqi regime accused Tehran of opening the door to American military intervention in the Persian Gulf!

Then, the very next day after Carter's raid, Hussein publicly attacked Khomeini at a rally in Iraq, saying that his government was ready to defeat Iranian forces.

Fewer than three months later, in mid-July, the Iranian government succeeded in breaking up a coup attempt. Two former generals from the shah's regime reportedly confessed that they had plotted to bring Bakhtiar back to power. The Iraqi military was directly implicated in this plot.

The recent revelations by U.S. columnist Jack Anderson of a "top secret plan to invade Iran with a powerful military force" sometime in October raise questions about how the Iraqi regime's military offensive may be connected with the exposed invasion plans.

Neutrality

Washington has loudly proclaimed its "neutrality" in the fighting between Iraq and Iran. "We will not become involved in the combat," declared U.S. President Carter September 23 but he quickly added that Washington did have "military forces in the area."

A Pentagon spokesman confirmed that there were thirty-one U.S. ships in the region, a squadron of F-4 jets in Egypt, and additional ships and weapons at the island of Diego Garcia.

Carter suggested that the Iraqi offensive serves Washington's interests. He suggested it might "induce [Iran] to release the hostages."

A similar theme was carried further in a September 23 *New York Times* editorial. Bemoaning the fact that the Iranian revolution has meant that Washington no longer has control over what happens in the area, the *Times* suggested that perhaps the Iraqi attacks could serve to convince Iran of the "importance of its return to normal diplomatic and trade relations with the West."

In an ominous development, Washington officials expressed their concern September 24 that steps might have to be taken to keep open the Strait of Hormuz, through which much of Western oil imports pass. U.S. Sen. George McGovern even called on the United Nations to send a task force to keep the straits open.

Relations have traditionally been strained between Washington and Iraq since the revolution in 1958 that toppled the Iraqi monarchy and scuttled the proimperialist Baghdad Pact. Subsequent Iraqi regimes had aligned themselves with the Soviet government and have maintained a public stance of opposition to any compromise with Zionist Israel, Washington's key ally in the Mideast.

U.S.-Iraqi relations

Over the past several years, however, U.S.-Iraqi relations have eased, and this has been especially true since the overthrow of the shah in February 1979. This shift in U.S. policy has become increasingly clear since the turn of the year.

"We see no fundamental incompatibility of interests between the United States and Iraq," Carter's national security adviser, Zbigniew Brzezinski, declared in April.

An article in the May 3 U.S. weekly *New Republic* pointed out that Hussein "has done nothing to discourage US attentions, and in fact has encouraged them. He has increased Iraq's oil exports to the Western nations, has proposed 'liberating' South Yemen from its Marxist traces, and has offered himself as the protector and guarantor of Saudi Arabia's stability and as the preeminent bulwark against radical Islamic forces."

The June 4 *Wall Street Journal* explicitly spelled out Washington's interests in promoting an Iraqi "rapprochement with the United States."

"With revolutionary Iran creating so much tension in the Middle East," the *Journal's* reporter Bill Paul wrote, "Washington would clearly welcome

revolution

any role that the Iraqis might play in stabilizing the Persian Gulf."

U.S. and Iraqi goals

Recognizing the Iraqi regime's fear of revolution within its own borders, Washington has correctly gauged Hussein's eagerness to aid Iranian counter-revolutionaries.

At the same time, the Iraqi government has grabbed onto Washington's hostility towards the Iranian revolution as a lever to help accomplish its own territorial designs in the region.

By encouraging the Iraqi government's attacks against Iran, Washington also sees an opportunity to exacerbate divisions in the Muslim world to its own advantage. It seeks to isolate Iran from other semicolonial countries dominated by world capitalism.

In a September 12 statement, Khomeini condemned this trick by Washington and appealed for international solidarity with the Iranian revolution. All countries, Islamic and non-Islamic, sharing oppression under imperialism should be fighting their common enemy, not one another, Khomeini explained.

Khomeini exposed the U.S. government's attempts "to make Moslems fight each other," saying that this just allows Washington "to continue with its plunderings in Moslem countries."

In response to the Iraqi air attacks, Khomeini called on the Iraqi nation and army to overthrow President Hussein, adding that "if this is not possible, they should leave the army and not fight against Islam."

Soviet position

Tehran's ambassador to Moscow, Mohammed Mokri, appealed to the Soviet Union to cut off all arms supplies to Iraq and to condemn the Iraqi aggression. But the Soviet officials promised only that Moscow would remain "neutral."

The official Soviet government newspaper *Izvestia* declared September 23 that the conflict could only "play into the hands of imperialism" and accused Washington of trying to exploit tensions between Iraq and Iran, shake the Iranian revolution, and exploit the area's oil reserves.

Aware of the damage that the Iran-Iraq conflict can create for the oppressed throughout the Middle East, the Palestine Liberation Organization traveled to Tehran September 18 to try and mediate an end to the fighting between the two countries. They met with Iranian President Abolhassan Banisadr and delivered a message from PLO leader Yasir Arafat.

Cuba's stand

Several months earlier, before the stepped-up Iraqi attacks, Cuban President Fidel Castro had urged a peaceful resolution of the conflict between the two countries. Castro is also chairman of the Movement of Nonaligned Countries, to which both Iran and Iraq belong.

In his May Day speech in Havana, Castro said: "In Iran a real people's revolution has taken place. . . . And it is our duty to support Iran, to solidarize ourselves with Iran. . . ."

"At the same time, we must work to try to get the conflicts between our Iraqi brothers and the Iranian brothers to cease. We must work to see they resolve their problems through diplomatic means, because these conflicts are only grist for the imperialist mill."

The Iraqi government's war against Iran in no way benefits the oppressed masses of Iraq or anywhere else in the Arab world. To the extent that it deals blows to the anti-imperialist revolution in Iran, the Hussein regime helps strengthen the stranglehold of the world's wealthiest bankers and businessmen over workers and peasants throughout the Middle East.

The war policies of the Iraqi regime are a blow to the Palestinian people, who were inspired by the Iranian revolution, and a boon to Zionist Israel, whose best friend in the region had been the shah. Only weeks after the successful Tehran insurrection last year, the new Iranian government cut off all oil supplies to Israel, as well as to the apartheid regime in South Africa.

Working people throughout the Middle East and the world must demand that Washington end its plots to overthrow the government of Iran. All Iraqi military assaults against Iran must halt immediately.

Hands off the Iranian revolution!

Nicaraguans jubilant at death of ex-tyrant Somoza

By Lorraine Thiebaud

MANAGUA—The only regret in Nicaragua on September 17 was that bloody ex-dictator Anastasio Somoza Debayle was not brought to justice here.

As word spread of the bazooka blast in Asunción, Paraguay, that permanently deposited Somoza in the garbage can of history, Nicaragua exploded in a nationwide outpouring of joy.

All commercial activity ground to a halt as people huddled around their radios. When the news was confirmed by the FSLN National Directorate, people began hugging each other, patting each other on the back, shaking hands with total strangers. They raised their fists and shouted, "The buzzard is dead!" All Nicaragua seemed to be smiling.

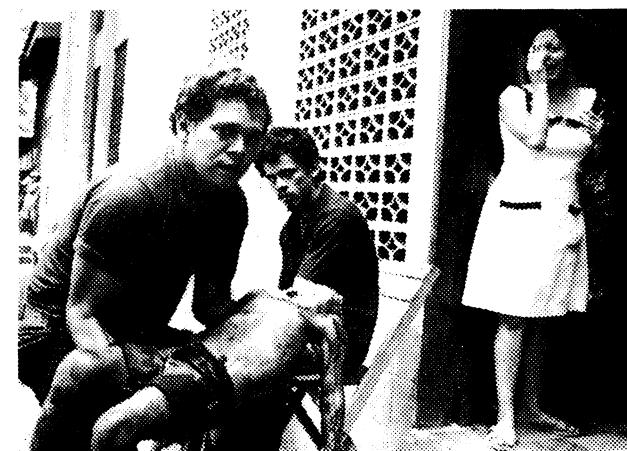
Arms linked and standing beneath a photo of Rigoberto López Pérez, the national hero who shot and killed Somoza's father in 1956, the nine FSLN Commanders of the Revolution issued a statement to the people of Nicaragua:

"Having confirmed that the genocidal tyrant Anastasio Somoza Debayle has been brought to justice, the National Directorate of the FSLN joins the people of Sandino in national rejoicing. We feel ourselves fulfilled in this heroic deed, achieving our rights and our desire for justice and vindication against the one who massacred thousands of Nicaraguans and plunged our country into misery and ignorance."

The FSLN statement hailed the "combative, self-sacrificing, valiant, and heroic" commandos who carried out the attack on Somoza. They embodied, the FSLN said, "the implacable will of Rigoberto López Pérez."

Joining the popular celebrations, the revolutionary commanders led a demonstration through the streets of the capital in open jeeps. They drove through streets of poor and working-class neighborhoods where the bombed-out remains of buildings are mute testimony to the hated Somoza wrought among his own people.

The scenes were almost indescribably euphoric. People rushed into the streets waving red-and-black Sandinista flags and ran alongside the car caravan. They shouted greetings and slogans and applauded the commanders, who flashed victory signs and



Nicaraguans haven't forgotten what Somoza brought them.

reached down thousands of times to shake outstretched hands.

'Thank God they killed that wretch'

The multitude paused in front of the Eastern Cemetery, where many of Somoza's victims are buried. An old woman expressed the common sentiment: "Thank God they killed that wretch who murdered our children."

As they passed the offices of the Managua daily *El Nuevo Diario*, Commander Tomás Borge paused to embrace the paper's editor Xavier Chamorro, brother of Pedro Joaquín Chamorro, the victim of a Somoza-organized assassination in January 1978.

The Council of State, upon receiving word of Somoza's end, voted to declare September 17 the "Day of National Jubilation." Fiestas and parties were held in homes throughout the country. The Sandinista Defense Committees organized burnings of Somoza's effigy, while women read his official death sentence.

Late into the night, bonfires lit up the streets, and the sound of firecrackers and marimba music was heard.

The most popular song was Julio Iglesias's *Para-*
Continued on page 17

Paraguay dictatorship tries to frame Sandinistas

By Fred Murphy

The Stroessner dictatorship in Paraguay and other enemies of the Nicaraguan revolution lost no time in trying to use the death of Anastasio Somoza Debayle to discredit the revolutionary Sandinista government. Police statements in Asunción purporting to link the September 17 action there to the FSLN have received wide play in the big-business news media in the United States.

According to a September 19 dispatch from Asunción to the *New York Times*, Paraguayan police officials claimed that "they had traced the rocket and grenade launchers and automatic weapons used in the Wednesday ambush to Nicaragua."

Stroessner's secret police chief Pastor Coronel displayed to the press on September 19 the body of a man he claimed was an Argentine guerrilla named Hugo Alfredo Yurzun. A dispatch in the September 20 *Washington Post* said Coronel declared "he had proof that the guerrilla had recently come from Nicaragua. . . ."

Even before the assertions of Stroessner's cops reached the news wires, the New York *Daily News* was giving prominent coverage to the statements of Congressman John Murphy. The New York Democrat, who attended the LaSalle Military Academy in the United States with Somoza and remained a personal friend of the dictator, "said it was absolutely clear" that the Sandinista government was responsible for the assassination of Nicaragua's former president.

"There's no question that this is Communist-inspired, part of an international conspiracy," he added. Murphy is among those in Washington who have most strenuously opposed even the Carter administration's token aid to Nicaragua. He and other right-wingers will no doubt seek to

use Somoza's death as the excuse for further moves to block U.S. assistance to the Sandinista government.

While the revolutionary authorities in Nicaragua have made no effort to hide their immense joy at the tyrant's passing, they have not taken credit for it either. "Sandinism had nothing to do directly with the death of Somoza," said Rafael Córdova Rivas of the Junta of National Reconstruction.

From the first day they were in power, the Sandinistas have scrupulously observed legal norms and even shown considerable generosity in dealing with loyalists of the Somoza regime. Not one Somozaist criminal has been executed; all are being given trials with the right to appeal and to have a defense attorney. Not a few Somozaist suspects have been acquitted and released by the revolutionary courts.

As for Somoza himself, the Managua government initiated extradition proceedings in Paraguay shortly after the tyrant fled there. Aldo Díaz Lacayo, Nicaragua's ambassador to Mexico, pointed out to the Mexico City daily *Uno más Uno* September 17 that the killing of Somoza "frustrates my government's intention to extradite, try, and sentence him."

The Stroessner regime had placed obstacles in the way of the extradition effort, even expelling two Nicaraguan diplomats from Paraguay in August of this year.

Dictators like Stroessner and their friends in Washington and New York like Murphy will continue seeking ways to discredit and pressure the Nicaraguan revolution. Its supporters, on the other hand, should find fresh inspiration for opposing these attempts. We should redouble our efforts to demand unconditional aid to Nicaragua.

From Intercontinental Press

Recruit 3 million members

New Polish unions hold national conference

By Gerry Foley

In the few weeks since the victorious strikes of August and early September, the free trade-union movement has swelled into a flood sweeping Poland.

At the first national conference of these unions in Gdansk on September 17, organizers announced that 3 million workers from about 3,500 plants and institutions had applied to join the new democratic workers organizations.

Thus, in two-and-a-half weeks, the independent trade unions have signed up at least as many members as the official Polish Communist Party, which for thirty years has served as the representative of the social caste that holds a near monopoly on material privileges and possibilities of advancement.

In Szczecin, one local organizer reported, the democratic workers organizations are functioning at 90 percent of the plants.

Another delegate reported that in Cracow, representatives of 134 plants including the huge Nowa Huta steelworks, had just held an organizational meeting to set up free trade unions.

A delegate from Katowice said that nearly 80 percent of the 20,000 workers in the steel plant there had signed up for the new union, and that the first issue of the union's paper had already been printed.

In Gdansk, the center of the movement, 80-90 percent of the workers are joining the new trade unions, Jonathan Spivak reported in the September 18 issue of the *Wall Street Journal*.

"And some groups, such as the dock workers and seamen, are moving lock, stock and barrel from the existing party-controlled structure to the new movement," Spivak reported. "Worker petitions to form new units arrive here daily."

Along with the growth of the new unions, the example of the earlier strikes continues to spread. In the September 20 *New York Times*, John Darnton reported from Warsaw:

"Many strikes have ended but new ones keep occurring. Today bus and tramway drivers in the Upper Silesian region stopped work, apparently in a demand for pay increases."

Spivak noted that the free trade-union movement has become the driving force of a mobilization embracing more and more sections of the Polish people:

While industrial workers focus on wages and working conditions, others flock to the independent unions with different objectives. Professors want the right to name the administrators of their universities; graphic artists want better supplies; translators seek the power to establish higher standards for the profession; schoolteachers hope to scrap the recently adopted Russian pattern of secondary education, which they say is inflexible; and farmers are organizing to increase crop prices and get better supplies.

Some labor experts even predict that the independent-union movement will lead to new organizations in other areas of Polish life, including the country's first consumer groups.

Flowering of initiatives

The stage now opening in Poland is marked by the flowering of independent social initiatives and publications.

For example, the national confederation of free trade unions plans to begin publishing a nationwide daily with a circulation of a million copies. It would be named *Solidarity*, after the bulletin put out in Gdansk during the strikes.

Other local units of the new, worker-initiated trade unions are planning to put out newspapers of their own, such as the one already being published in Katowice.

Thus, the basis is developing rapidly for a snowballing of mass-circulation independent papers. Even if these publications do not directly defy the censorship, it will be extremely difficult



Gdansk workers read 'Solidarity,' daily bulletin issued by strike committee. New union federation plans nationwide daily paper with the same name.

for the censors to keep an eye on them all.

Moreover, in a country like Poland where the government is the main employer, it will be very difficult for these papers to avoid political questions. The likelihood is that they will tend quickly to become forums for all sorts of political currents and viewpoints existing among the workers they represent, especially those most ready to take initiatives, who are apt to be the most politically conscious.

Veterans of past political opposition movements in Poland have assumed leading roles in some of the new unions. One example is Karol Modzelewski, a leader of the antibureaucratic movement at the University of Warsaw in the mid-1960s. Modzelewski was an early associate of Jacek Kuron, a central figure in the Committee for Social Self-Defense (KOR), which has played an important role in the latest events. Together with Kuron, he authored the widely circulated 1964 "Open Letter" to members of the Polish Communist Party.

Modzelewski is now a leading activist in the Wroclaw free trade unions and was a delegate to the September 17 conference in Gdansk.

Discussion and debate

Moreover, as the free trade unions and other mass movements grow, they will face more and more difficult tactical and political problems that will have to be discussed. This was already apparent at the Gdansk conference.

A debate developed over the relationship and priority of building a centralized national leadership and building strong local unions.

Some free trade-union leaders are worried that the procedure and rules established for recognizing the new organizations give the government too much room to maneuver.

Applications have to be made in person by union leaders to the Warsaw District Court, and the court has the right to refuse recognition to organizations that it says are acting in violation of the Polish constitution. Furthermore, no deadline has been set for the court to render its decision, opening the way for delaying tactics.

A dispatch by Bradley Graham in the September 18 *Washington Post* reported the resolution of the discuss-

sion at the Gdansk meeting:

Faced with a potential split in their ranks, the union representatives held an hour-long closed door session of delegates from each of the regional committees.

In the meeting, the Gdansk group was persuaded of the need to form a central organization and it agreed to head a national federation.

"We didn't want to do it this way, but we were forced to as a sort of defensive alliance," said Lech Badkowski, a writer and member of the Gdansk organizing committee.

Conference delegates finished drafting the charter for the new labor organization on September 22.

According to union leaders, the September 23 *New York Times* reported, the new organization will be based in Gdansk. It will have district offices operating autonomously with a national commission helping to coordinate activities.

Another discussion is also beginning among participants in the struggle, according to an account in *Le Monde*. Some Catholic intellectuals working with the free trade unions are reportedly in favor of the new workers organizations participating in factory "co-management" bodies with the bureaucracy, while the KOR is said to oppose this, seeing a danger to the independence of the new unions.

Attempts at obstruction

In many localities, the party and government officials are still openly trying to obstruct the organization of free unions and to intimidate workers.

In Kielce, for instance, a local party official has taken a hard line against the new trade unions. Police in plainclothes were sent into a number of factories to put pressure on the workers.

At least one free trade-union activist, Andrzej Cuma, was arrested and detained for forty-eight hours, according to *Le Monde* of September 17.

The Gdansk leadership has been the spearhead nationally of the fightback against these attacks and pressures. Spivak described this in his dispatch in the September 18 *Wall Street Journal*:

Mr. Walesa, whose sense of the workers' moods was a decisive factor in the success of the strikes, continues to function in an

atmosphere of high crisis.

From behind the door of the headquarters office, Mr. Walesa is heard to shout, "If this continues, I'll call a general strike by Monday." He has just been shown pamphlets from official unions alleging that workers will lose their rights if they join the new independent ones. Journalists present are summoned into the office to be given details. . . .

Suddenly a message arrives from the telephone center. The government has agreed to make space available in the Gdansk paper for an MKZ [Interfactory Strike Committee] statement on independent unions' organizing rights. "We've won," the strike leader exults.

Stalinists on the defensive

The power and spread of the Polish workers' upsurge has put world Stalinism and the Kremlin on the defensive politically.

One example is the tack taken by the U.S. Communist Party after the strike victories. During the struggle, this party played its usual role of the Kremlin's most faithful guard dog, raising a howl about "antisocialist elements."

But in the September 13 issue of the American CP paper, the *Daily Worker*, Conrad Komorowski wrote:

"A notable feature of the Polish developments is that no anti-socialist or anti-Soviet slogans were raised. It was not socialism which came under attack in Poland, but the failure to carry it out."

Komorowski cited the new Polish CP head Stanislaw Kania as saying that since some workers wanted free trade unions, the party could not ignore their demands.

Even Brezhnev was enlisted in defense of the bureaucracy's retreat in Poland. He was quoted to the effect that "socialism and democracy are inseparable."

The Kremlin is continuing quiet attempts to intimidate the Polish masses, attested by reports of Soviet troop concentrations on the border. And it will intervene despite heavy political costs if it thinks the Polish bureaucracy is collapsing, or even short of that if it finds an opening. So far, however, it is lying very low. And that is a testimony to the power of the Polish workers movement, the capacities of its leaders, and the depth of the crisis of bureaucratic rule.

From Intercontinental Press

30,000 at Seattle Boeing OK strike call

By Mary Ann Kellogg

SEATTLE—More than 30,000 aerospace workers gathered September 19 to support union demands on the Boeing Company, the nation's largest manufacturer of commercial aircraft. The workers packed into the Kingdome, the big sports arena here.

The last such meeting was held prior to the six-week IAM strike against Boeing in 1977. The mass meeting is an important show of strength for Boeing workers.

More than two-thirds of the members of the International Association of Machinists District 751, which represents Boeing workers, turned out. They overwhelmingly voted at the meeting to authorize their union negotiators to call a strike if no contract with Boeing is reached. The IAM's three-year contract with the aerospace giant expires October 4.

Joining IAM members at the meeting were half of the 15,000 members of the Seattle Professional Engineers Association (SPEEA), who cast a separate strike sanction vote.

The vote to authorize a strike was preceded by brief reports from officials of the two unions. They described Boeing's refusal to meet the unions' modest demands.

The IAM is asking for a wage increase—said to be in the 15 percent range for the first year of the contract—to begin to make up for the rampaging inflation of the past three years. The union also wants to restrict or eliminate forced overtime and to establish a full union shop (some 93 percent of Boeing's production workers are IAM members).

But the cutting edge for members of both IAM and SPEEA members was the cost of living clause. Boeing wants to undercut COLA by diverting some

of it to pay for pensions and medical plans.

"Our composite average wage has risen only 16 percent since November 1977. That's less than one-half the rate of inflation," one IAM negotiator told the meeting.

"The cost-of-living agreement—that's a strike issue guaranteed," said Robert Bradford, executive director of the engineers' union.

Banners in the arena proclaimed, "No COLA, No work!" "No mandatory overtime," "Full union shop," and "COLA for retirees."

As the company's stonewalling was described, chants of "Strike now!" and "COLA, COLA, COLA" rose from the audience.

I sat near a large group of women wearing IAM buttons and jackets. I asked them what they wanted from the new contract. A Black woman who was a shop steward said, "Improved sick leave and health benefits. And many women who work here are single heads of households, so we really need the COLA."

IAM President William Winpisinger addressed the meeting. He described the negotiations as "a test in which we find out whether or not a heavyweight union can stand up to and take the measure of a heavyweight corporation."

Winpisinger pointed to Boeing's negotiating stance as an example of growing corporate arrogance. "Corporate power is calling the tune on just about everything that happens to American workers today. Our voices politically have been drowned out by the clamor of the corporate few for full control of the destinies of our country."

But, he added, "without all of you, they can't build anything."

In press interviews, Winpisinger

stressed his desire to avoid a strike. "The aim is not to have a strike, but a settlement."

Boeing has opened negotiations with the standard claims that it "can't afford" to meet union demands such as maintaining or improving COLA. But its own profit reports are more eloquent. Boeing made a net profit of \$295 million in the first six months of 1980—compared with net earnings of \$228 million in the first six months of 1979. The Boeing board of directors has declared a quarterly dividend of \$.30 per share.

The meeting was inspired by growing unity between the engineers and the production workers. "We won't get what we want by looking out for number one," declared SPEEA leader Bradford to cheers and applause. "We must stand together until we both get

what we need. SPEEA is ready to support IAM 751 in two weeks if a strike is called."

Among those who attended the meeting was Jim Levitt, a Boeing tool and die maker and IAM member. Levitt is the Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. Senate from the State of Washington.

Before and after the meeting, Levitt and SWP vice-presidential candidate Matilde Zimmermann campaigned among Boeing workers outside the Kingdome, expressing their solidarity with the unions' demands.

IAM District 751 reported later that afternoon that 97 percent of IAM members at the meeting had voted to sanction a possible strike. Voting was by secret ballot.

A future meeting at the Kingdome will hear a report on the further progress of negotiations.

IAM president rips draft

The draft was one of the topics focused on in a speech by International Association of Machinists President William Winpisinger at the union's convention September 2-10. Below are excerpts:

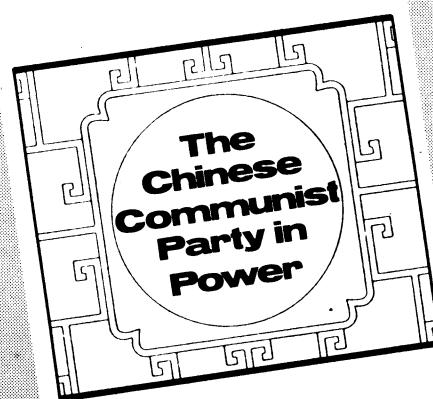
We are told our kids are being registered for the military draft in case we have to defend our vital interests in the Persian Gulf.

We are also told the military draft is a good thing for our kids because it gives them a job, and there are no jobs available in the civilian sector of the economy.

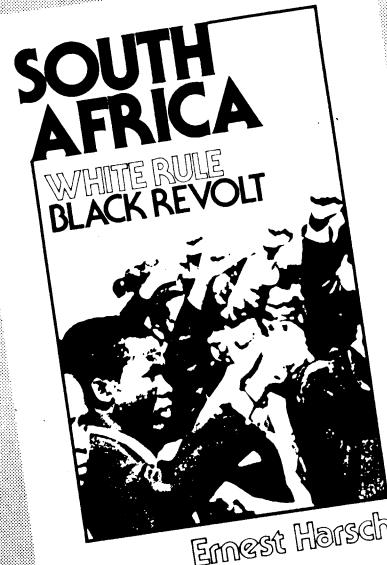
To the first argument, I say let big oil fight its own damned war. The rest of us will get on with development of alternative energy sources and the rebuilding of America. That will remove our interest from that powder keg area of the globe.

To the second argument, I respond, of course there are no jobs in exported, shut down, or robotized factories. If the Corporate State wants the military draft, then let it draft robots and give our kids real jobs—jobs with the promise of life, not death. Give our kids cause for hope, not despair—a dream, not a nightmare!

New from Pathfinder



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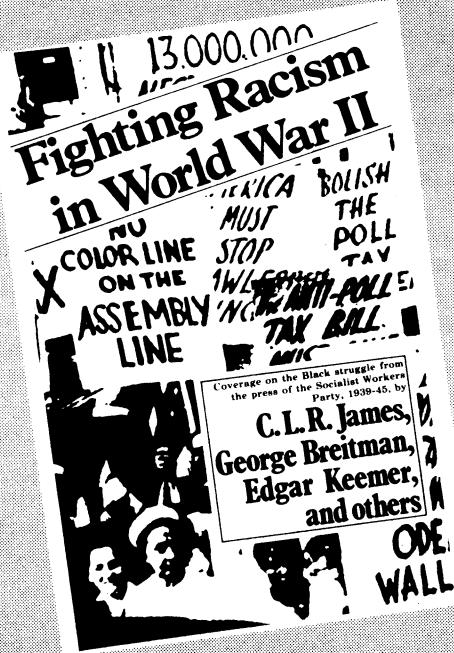
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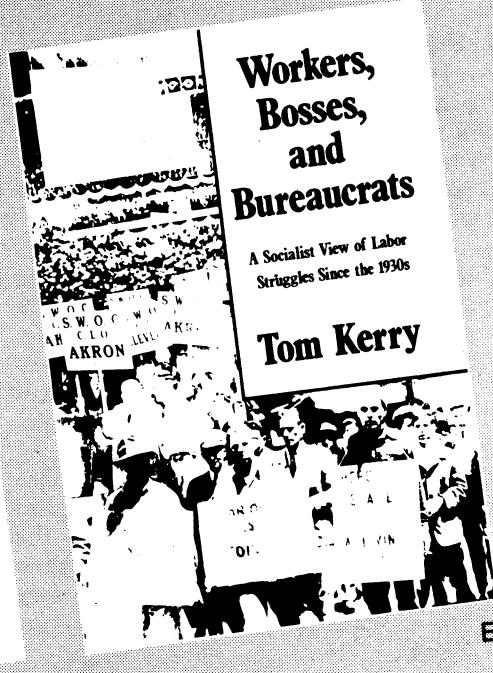
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The following interview with Socialist Workers presidential candidate Andrew Pulley was conducted by John Blake, host of 'The Caribbean Experience' on WHUR-FM in Washington, D.C. It was scheduled to be broadcast September 21. The interview has been abridged slightly by the 'Militant.'

Blake: It's my pleasure to welcome to *The Caribbean Experience* microphones and WHUR-FM Andrew Pulley. Andrew Pulley is a member of United Steelworkers Local 1066 in Gary, Indiana. He's also a member of the Socialist Workers Party. As a matter of fact, he's the candidate for president for the Socialist Workers Party here in the United States.

Recently Mr. Pulley visited Grenada in the Caribbean and he came back with his own views of what's happening in Grenada ever since March 13, 1979. Many of you may know Grenada is under a new revolutionary government, under the leadership of Maurice Bishop.

We here at *The Caribbean Experience* have received various points of view, some of them adverse to the policies of the new revolutionary government under Prime Minister Bishop. Recently we had on the air a gentleman by the name of Stanley Cyrus, who was in Grenada for a while and actually was in jail on that island, and he has spoken out against the government of Grenada.

Well, Mr. Pulley is here to share his views on Grenada with us and maybe we can start by explaining to the people what prompted your visit to that part of the Caribbean.

Pulley: I wanted to see firsthand the accomplishments of this revolution, of this new leadership in Grenada. I had read all kinds of articles as to the progressive policies they're implementing, on the one hand.

On the other hand, I'd read articles in the capitalist media here—in *U.S. News & World Report*, *New York Times Magazine*, and others—that while corroborating some of the positive steps that have been taken, nevertheless I felt slandered the country, claiming that it was becoming a puppet of Cuba, claiming that it was an armed camp, claiming that violence raged throughout the country, and that therefore you should look upon Grenada in a hostile fashion.

So I wanted to go there to see whether all this was true, and also to be able to come back and report to the American working people and the Black community here my findings.

Working people call shots

What I found convinced me totally that the working people of Grenada now have power, they call the shots. They are marching forward to solve problems in their country that Black people have been struggling to solve for years. Problems of poverty, unemployment, disease, and whatnot.

I think we need to emulate their example.

I learned, for example, that the British who ran the country built only one secondary school in 400 years of rule. And that even in the other schools that existed, it cost money to attend, which excluded the great majority of people, whose per capita income was only \$300 a year.

The new government has already lowered the cost of education from \$35 down to \$12. And next year education will be free to all.

So they are finding money for education. And I'm mindful of what's happening in this country. In New York they can't find money for education. In D.C. they claim poverty. In Chicago they claim poverty.

The way the Grenadians found money for education was by putting more taxes on the rich. They have the largest budget they have ever had in the history of their country.

Blake: Larger than they have had in the past?

GRENAADA: 'F Black country'

D.C. radio station interview

Pulley: Yes, larger than they've had in the past. And they got that by simply changing the tax structure.

They also ended the taxes on 30 percent of the work force, the lowest paid, while slapping heavier taxes on the foreign-owned businesses as well as on domestically owned businesses. So they got money in that way, and they made education free.

They also provide free milk for children, for babies and their mothers who can't afford it. And they guarantee a very inexpensive lunch and free breakfast for the children in school. While all these programs in the United States are being cut back in favor of a giant military budget.

Blake: So generally speaking you were very impressed with the revolution in Grenada.

Pulley: Exactly. They have made some giant steps forward already. They were left with a country that was 50 percent unemployed. They've already reduced the unemployment rate down to 35 percent in one year alone.

I ask how many jobs has Jimmy Carter created in one year? And I find that he's destroyed quite a few. He's created nothing. And this is a rich country. Grenada's a poor country.

The difference is in the policies that are being enforced there.

Blake: Undoubtedly there is a commonality in terms of the Socialist Workers Party and their platform here in the United States and the left-leaning governments in the Caribbean region such as Grenada. So one can anticipate that when you went to Grenada you expected more or less to see this type of thing going on.

As you say, the media has not been too kind to Grenada, the conventional media. Some of the things they have brought out in criticism of the new revolutionary government, at the top of the list is human rights violations. They talked about political prisoners, they talked about the lack of an election. How would you respond to those charges?

People feel free

Pulley: The fact is today that Grenada is freer than it has ever been. This is attested not by any biased attitude I have in favor of the government, but based on the response I got from average people.

People felt that they were free now, that they didn't feel police brutality. When you've got police brutality you can't talk about human rights existing. That's why I wouldn't talk about human rights in Miami or in North Carolina or most places in this country.

The Grenadians don't face police brutality any more, which they did under the Gairy regime. Even the revolution that assumed power, when it actually took power, there were very few casualties. Only one person was killed.

The reason power was taken by the [New Jewel Movement] was because orders had been left for them to be executed by the Gairy regime. That would have been a very gross violation of human rights.



In United States, profit drive causes layoffs and growing number of permanently poorer island of Grenada, Pulley explains, revolutionary government puts human need scene from rally on revolution's first anniversary.



Presidential candidate Pulley is interviewed about trip to Grenada by John Blake, host of

There have been no executions of the Gairy Mongoose Gang [Gairy's private gang of thugs], who have been arrested by the People's Revolutionary Government. No executions have occurred at all. They're in jail, which is where they belong.

Those who murdered the two women on June 19, when a bomb blew up under a speakers' platform, aimed at the leadership of the revolution, those have not been executed.

Human rights of workers

These pro-imperialist spokespeople—who cry out so loud about human rights not existing in Grenada, which is totally false—say nothing about the brutal murder of 5,000 people in El Salvador or the tyranny of the South Africans against the majority of Blacks or the murder of the Cuban diplomat a couple of days ago here.

They have no sympathy, no love for

human rights when it comes to violating that of the working people and the oppressed who are in struggle to change their society and get control of their society.

They only cry about human rights being violated when the majority of people call a halt to the rule of the businesses and domination of their country by the United States and Britain and others. Then they cry about human rights. Crying on the basis of false data. In the case of Grenada there's no violation of human rights at all.

Blake: Let me ask you—do you think that this type of attack on the revolutionary government is deliberate?

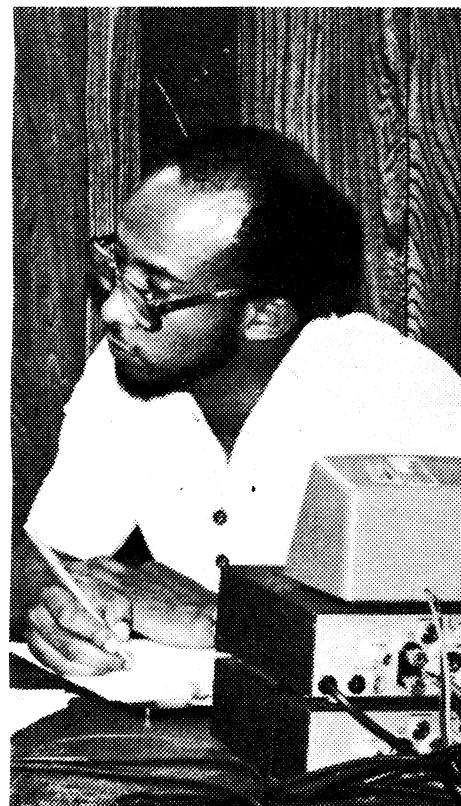
Pulley: I think it is very deliberate. The lies that they tell have a purpose, and that is to poison the minds of the

irst free in world'

; Andrew Pulley



Unemployed. Left, thousands seek few jobs at Western Electric plant. On the much first. Economy is being organized to slash unemployment and use skills of all. Right,



Militant/Andy Rose

'The Caribbean Experience.'

public, of the Black community and Caribbean persons living here, to the revolutionary developments. So that these people will accept whatever the right-wing terrorists want to carry out in Grenada.

So they blow up a platform, and if they had succeeded in murdering the leadership, they would hope that the public will accept it, because this was a very tyrannical government.

That was the whole purpose behind all the lies and propaganda about Cuba: Castro's a dangerous animal. He must be stopped by any means—execution, CIA plots. That was the objective—to poison minds, to get people to accept whatever they pull off.

Lies will be exposed

And as in the case of the lies about Cuba, which are beginning to come to light and beginning to be exposed, I

think the lies about Grenada will be immediately exposed.

Especially as they build up the power in their own radio broadcasts, as they are able to reach the southern shores of the United States with messages of the truth about how to move forward, as they're able to reach the radio receivers in all of the English-speaking Caribbean countries. This will do a lot to undercut the slanderous remarks.

One story was that in Grenada on every corner you see tanks from North Korea, backed up by Cuban soldiers. Well, nothing could be further from the truth.

I see more people armed in Washington, D.C., than I saw in the whole of Grenada. Of course in D.C. they're all cops carrying three weapons apiece. The same is true in New York and Chicago.

You don't see this kind of flagrant example of people armed in Grenada. Even though they're organizing a big militia to defend their country. There are no tanks from North Korea or any other place there.

Of course they have the right to get aid from any country they choose, because they do face threats.

Now another reason for the slander campaign is to crush and end the tourism on which Grenada depends for currency, for hard currency for international trade. So if one is likely to be shot or injured or harmed, then one who is considering visiting Grenada would choose to stay home or go somewhere else.

I'll say here that you are more likely to be harmed or killed in Washington, D.C., or Miami or Detroit or North Carolina—either just by the cops who don't like the way Black people look, or by the Klan—than you are likely to be killed by anybody in Grenada. It is just all propaganda.

Blake: As a matter of fact, it was said recently by one of the people who visited Grenada and I think I can use his name—Lou Wolfe with the Covert

Action organization—that he was concerned that there was not enough national security in Grenada. Did you feel that there needs to be more of a national security in Grenada?

World support is best defense

Pulley: Well, I think the government of Grenada has the right idea about the militia they're trying to build. A 20,000-person militia, I think, and a 5,000-person armed force.

Of course they recognize that the main thing that's going to defend them from attack by the U.S. or Britain is the public support that they get throughout the world. From the Black community in this country especially, from other islands. And even in Europe.

So they want to urge Black people especially from this country to come down and visit, spread the word about the accomplishments of the country to be able to refute the lies emanating from our State Department and some of the media.

Blake: Does the Socialist Workers Party, what kind of role are they playing in terms of drumming up solidarity here in the United States with the government and people of Grenada?

Solidarity work

Pulley: We're helping out in a couple of important ways.

One is through the circulation of our campaign newspaper, the *Militant*. Another is through the campaign speeches Matilde Zimmermann [vice-presidential candidate] and I give.

We point out how they have been able to do quite a few things in just one year of existence in Grenada that the government in this country has never done. The government of Grenada is creating employment by developing industry in the country, forming cooperative farms, and by building the international airport that's vitally needed. They're finding money to do all these things by taxing the rich.

Everywhere I go I use the Grenadian example, because I think what it does is point the way forward for the Black liberation movement and for the liberation movement of the whole working class in this country.

And, of course, we want to organize with others in a much broader form. For example through the U.S.-Grenada Friendship Society, to help publicize what is going on, to invite speakers from the island.

We would like to see a big national tour conducted by some leader of Grenada, to speak to the union movement, to campuses throughout the country.

Blake: You mention the airport project, which is a very ambitious project for the people of Grenada. Also you mentioned earlier that the budget was the largest in the history of Grenada. It's kind of incredible for a lot of people to believe how a government that has inherited what is considered a minus treasury to, in its first year, accomplish this much.

Is Grenada getting a lot of international support now? Do you think there is a need for more?

Pulley: I certainly think they need much more support, humanitarian support and also political support to keep the mercenaries from intervening.

One thing they need is for the public in this country to demand that Eric Gairy be extradited to stand trial for the crimes he has committed, including murder of demonstrators and brutality practiced by his police. He's now residing in the United States someplace, I believe in San Diego.

They need aid. The United States only offered them five thousand measly dollars. That's not even enough to buy a Ford Pinto today, and they of course rejected that as an insult.

Contrast that to the amount of aid the Cubans have given. The Cubans have donated some 100 pieces of heavy earth-moving equipment to help build the airport, which can also be used for

constructing roads and other things throughout the country. And in the process of doing this they're helping train [Grenadian] workers to take over and be able to further construct the country. This cost about \$25 million alone.

Other countries—the Bulgarians have agreed to help construct a fishing industry. Before the revolution the Grenadians had to import canned fish from Britain and other places. This is an island, surrounded by trillions of fish!

Thanks to colonialism there was no industry of any kind to exploit this. Only the labor of the masses was exploited by the British.

So the new government is changing all this; and thanks to the donation by Cuba of, I think, about twelve fishing trawlers, they'll be able to get a good start.

Also doctors have been sent there by the Cubans and by other countries, I think. They need this kind of aid. This has improved their medical position considerably.

Blake: We're quickly running out of time, but I want to get a couple more things in before you leave.

I know since your stay was only for one week, most of your touring in Grenada must have been accompanied by government ministers or members of the new revolutionary government or the New Jewel Movement. But you must have had some time to mingle with the man in the street, to get their views.

Did you feel any degree of adversity as to how the government was handling the people of Grenada?

Mass support for revolution

Pulley: The overwhelming response I got from people was that they favor what is going on.

People like the idea of ending unemployment. They like the idea of having better medical care, free education by next year.

Women like the idea that they now have a big organization of women. They like the idea now that they must be paid the same for their work as men are paid.

And the union members—who now constitute 80 percent of those who are working—love the idea that they now have organizations to fight for their interests against the employers.

And the work force that has been freed from taxation, the lowest paid workers, love and appreciate that.

Now, of course, some of the business persons I spoke with didn't like the fact they have to pay more taxes. Well, that stands to reason, and I'm not surprised at these responses.

Blake: Final words that you may have for our people in this country. One of the things that prompted your going there was seeing for yourself firsthand what's going on in the country. Would you advise other people who are interested in finding out what's happening in Grenada to do likewise?

Pulley: Yes, I would. One of the slogans of the Grenadian government is, "Come on down and see for yourself."

This is a very powerful argument. It is not a request made by someone who has something to hide. It is a request made by someone who is proud of what they have.

You should do so. Go down and visit and see for yourself.

You'll not only see a lot of positive political accomplishments in one short year, but you'll be able to enjoy a great vacation among Black people who are free—in fact, the first free country of Black people in the world, free from imperialist domination, beginning to be free from poverty. The first Black workers' government, led by a Marxist party.

I think you'll get a lot out of it if you go down, be enlightened, and come back and help us try to do the same thing here in the United States.

The silent treatment won't silence

A brief item in the September 18 *New York Times* about a Washington, D.C., press conference of Socialist Workers Party presidential candidate Andrew Pulley reports: "Mr. Pulley noted that the party had collected more than 500,000 signatures in the drive that has put him and his running mate, Matilde Zimmermann, on the ballots of 25 states, with half a dozen more, including New York, still possible."

The *Times* said, "He attributed his inability to compete with President Carter, Ronald Reagan and Representative John B. Anderson to a lack of news media coverage of his campaign."

Pulley was grudgingly granted the point. "His Washington news conference, held at the National Press Club and well-publicized in advance, tended to prove his point," the *Times* said. "Only a handful of reporters showed up, plus one television network, whose representative said that the film was being shot for future use rather than spot news."

This, of course, is not unusual treatment for radical candidates who criticize and expose capitalism. The mass media are capitalist enterprises and are not in business to reveal the contradictions and crimes of the capitalist system. They operate to defend the interests of the capitalist class against the needs of the working class.

Some who in the recent past have thought that we socialists have been unduly critical of the "objective" news coverage in the capitalist press now have a chance to observe its class bias.

The big-business press had a near complete blackout of the conventions of the International Association of Machinists and the United Electrical Workers, both held shortly before Pulley's press conference. If Pulley hadn't mentioned that the IAM convention favored the formation of a labor party in this country, probably most of the reporters

AS I SEE IT

sent to cover his story would not yet know that this convention of one of the largest unions in this country, representing nearly a million members, had already been held and had refused to endorse any of the capitalist candidates.

The *Times* paraphrased Pulley's remarks on this important event. "Mr. Pulley took some comfort," it said, "from the fact that the International Association of Machinists had refused to endorse the major party candidates or Mr. Anderson. This might lead, he predicted, to a new independent political party based on unions, one of the moves he is advocating as part of his campaign."

Edward Kennedy was a guest speaker at the IAM



Militant/Roberto Flores

Kathryn Crowder of Young Socialist Alliance, SWP presidential candidate Andrew Pulley, and D.C. City Council candidate Glenn White at September 18 press conference in Washington, D.C.

convention and strongly urged a Carter endorsement in order to "stop Reagan." If Kennedy's plea had been accepted by the delegates, the IAM convention would have been big news simply because Kennedy was one of the main speakers, in accordance with the usual "impartial and objective" reporting.

But the fact that the delegates refused to endorse any capitalist candidate for president made the usually "newsworthy" Kennedy appearance a non-event. It failed to produce what was hoped for. Therefore it is treated as if it didn't happen.

Similarly with the United Electrical Workers convention. As a rule the conventions of this union do not get much attention in the capitalist press because the UE is an "outlaw," having been expelled from the CIO in 1949 as "communist dominated." But it has managed to survive and now functions about the same as most other unions.

It is not affiliated to the AFL-CIO. And for this reason the UE convention in Los Angeles was different this time. California AFL-CIO leader John Henning was one of the guest speakers. What is more important, Henning spoke strongly for a labor

party in this country based on the union movement, as he has been doing for the past year.

The UE, on record for a labor party since its last convention, again endorsed the labor party idea and refused to give support to any of the capitalist presidential candidates.

None of this was "newsworthy" for the capitalist news media. They wish such events didn't happen, so they don't report them. The capitalist publicists and advertising agencies hope that unreported events will be thought to be unimportant even by the participants. But when these unreported events involve the participation of a sizable segment of the organized labor movement, directly affecting the lives of millions of workers, they can no longer be hidden or ignored.

Andrew Pulley can surely "take some comfort," as the *Times* would say, in the fact that he is not alone when it comes to the "silent treatment" from the capitalist news media.

It will be a great comfort to all of us when the capitalist press is no longer able to "make news" and poison the minds of its millions of victims.

—Frank Lovell

Your dollars help win new SWP campaigners

By Duncan Williams

The Socialist Workers campaign \$75,000 fall fund drive is moving ahead on schedule. So far \$27,100 has come in.

One of the best things about the Pulley-Zimmermann campaign is the new support that it has won, especially in places where the SWP has had no organized campaign committees.

Here is one example of how new supporters have taken the initiative in getting out the ideas of the socialist campaign.

In the early spring, the national campaign office received a letter from Fairbanks, Alaska. These are excerpts:

"... I write to you to help me and the tens of thousands of Alaskans who are unemployed in our labor unions. I write also to ask you to allow me to run ads in our papers, and distribute litera-

ture to these workers. They must be told they need not be unemployed. . . .

"We must stress full employment through public industry.

"More and more land must be placed into public care and all sub-surface wealth must belong to all of the people.

"Anti-registration and draft feelings are stronger now and material against the draft appears often in telephone and bus booths. . . .

"No draft—No war—Do not register' stenciled paint appears everywhere, on sidewalks and public buildings. Resistance is growing. The SWP must grow with it.

"... I am willing to pay for well written material and posters, and newspaper-quality photographs, and we must have material to pass out to workers or students . . . for introduc-

tion to the SWP and, of course, our candidates.

"Sincerely, Monte Shade."

Later, fitting the deed to the word, Monte Shade and the Alaska Socialist Coalition placed a two-color, one-third-page ad in the Fairbanks *Daily-News Miner*, which has a circulation of 17,000. The text of the ad was taken from the Young Socialists for Pulley and Zimmermann brochure "How to Stop the Draft" by Andrew Pulley.

"Also," he wrote, "same ad will run in Anchorage *Daily News* on 29 August, weekend of Labor Day and title in pamphlet, ROLE OF LABOR, will be heavily darkened and enlarged."

Another ad was placed in the *Progressive* magazine at the urging of a group of supporters in Chicago, and already several people have sent in coupons asking for more information.

People like Monte Shade live in every city and state in the country, and the SWP campaign is the most effective way to win their support and provide them with a way to spread socialist ideas to their friends and co-workers.

Many of these newly interested people also become regular readers of the *Militant* and *Perspective Mundial*, the campaign newspapers.

A recent mailing to *Militant* subscribers has brought in a warm response. In one week, \$360 has come in from twenty people, helping the fund drive to keep on schedule.

Your contributions to the SWP campaign not only help pay for the tours and material of the campaign, but also generate new income and support.

If you can help out the Pulley-Zimmermann campaign, fill in the coupon below and send it in with your contribution.

Socialist Workers \$75,000 Fund Drive



\$10,000 \$20,000 \$30,000 \$40,000 \$50,000 \$60,000 \$70,000

so far: \$27,100

Enclosed is my contribution of \$ _____
Name _____
Address _____
City _____ State _____
Zip _____ Phone _____
Union/School/Org. _____

Make checks payable to:
Socialist Workers Presidential Campaign Committee, 14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014.

District 31 Steelworkers discuss energy, jobs

By Jon Hillson

GARY, Ind.—More than 250 steelworkers met here for a conference on "Jobs, Energy, and the Environment," the first of its kind sponsored by the United Steelworkers of America. The gathering, organized by USWA District 31 on September 19 and 20, received widespread media coverage in northwest Indiana.

A confrontation was sparked by the presence of Dr. David Rossin, an executive from Illinois Commonwealth Edison, which strongly advocates nuclear power. His co-panelists from the environmental movement opposed his ideas. And more than a dozen antinuke steelworkers took the floor, explaining the dangers of nuclear power, to the overwhelming delight of the capacity union crowd.

"Where do you live?" an angry griever from Bethlehem Steel Local 6787 demanded of Rossin.

The griever then said, "I live next to Bailly [the nuclear power station under construction on Lake Michigan in Indiana]. I didn't vote for that to be there, but I got to raise a family there," he said.

Rossin told the worker to move, evoking hisses from the audience.

USWA Local 1014 member Etta Ettlinger, the Socialist Workers Party

candidate for U.S. Senate in Indiana, urged the immediate shutdown of nuclear power plants and their replacement by coal-fired generators.

She told the crowd, "The union movement should lead the fight to force open the financial books and records of the energy giants." When Ettlinger called for nationalizing the energy trusts, she was interrupted by a big round of applause.

In an open greeting to the conference, USWA Sub-District 3 Director Ed Sadlowski urged "the nationalization of Chrysler" to end the soaking of working people by the corporations.

The USWA's official position was presented by Jack Sheehan, the international union's legislative director.

Sheehan said in a conference keynote speech that a plan is now being worked out by a tripartite board composed of union officials, government, and industry representatives to fund the modernization of the steel industry. Included in this, he said, is the postponement of environmental standard deadlines for three years.

USWA District 31 Director James Balanoff told the conference that "we are hearing voices that say pollution controls must be sacrificed to help American corporations raise money for reindustrialization. This debate is an

important one.

"We believe the experience of our union has been that pollution control has created jobs," Balanoff said, noting his skepticism that postponing pollution controls would entice industry to modernize. "We support reinvestment in this country," Balanoff said. "In fact we demand it. But reinvestment should not be a code word for unemployment, lower living standards, and open season on pollution control."

In a workshop on this subject, Sheehan and an industry spokesperson, Iron and Steel Institute Vice-president Earl Young, were taken to task.

Sheehan, who explained the industry suffered from a "\$2 billion capital shortfall," was repeatedly asked how such figures could be believed.

Sheehan said the union relied on government assessments of the financial standing of the steel industry.

"We should demand their books be opened," another worker said.

"I know of no way this can be done," Sheehan replied.

"Frank McKee, our international treasurer, has called for nationalizing steel," the same worker went on.

"You won't get any argument from me on that," Sheehan said. "Frankly, there's no way that's going to happen."

Other workers said the USWA had no business being on the tripartite board.

The jobs or environment trade-off, Sheehan said, "is a dead issue." The most "profound question our industry faces is finding the capital to modernize," Sheehan said. He conceded a minimum of 20,000 jobs would be lost under the proposed modernization plan, but said if the proposal, including public funding of the steel industry through bond issues, was not carried out, "steel production in this country would disappear."

This debate—labor's stance on what the employers call "retooling America"—will continue as unionists and working people grapple with what policies reflect our interests on the big questions of environment, energy, and jobs.

The next setting for continuing this critical discussion is Pittsburgh on October 10-12 at the National Labor Conference for Safe Energy and Full Employment.

Organizers for the Pittsburgh conference from the Chicago-based Citizens Against Nuclear Power and the Indiana Bailly Alliance were warmly received at the District 31 conference, signing up union activists to go to Pittsburgh.

Safety struggle at S.D. shipyard under attack

By Bobbie Bagel

SAN DIEGO—Six weeks of protests, including a three-day walkout, have rocked the National Steel and Shipbuilding Company yard here and been continual headline news.

The struggle at Nassco, the largest shipyard on the West Coast, has focused on the issue of job safety. A month after the protests began, two workers were found dead in the hull of a ship in the yard.

The protests surged. Public sentiment turned sharply against the company.

The latest turn in the case is a classic FBI frame-up to divide the union and break the back of the protests. It comes complete with an FBI provocateur, a "bomb plot" and a red scare targeting the Communist Workers Party.

Twenty-eight fired

The protests began August 2 when fifty workers demonstrated at a ship launching ceremony. They protested unsafe conditions and union-busting efforts by Nassco management. Seventeen of these protesters were fired.

Those firings sparked a three-day walkout that shut down the yard. The company responded with more firings. By the end of the month, twenty-eight workers had been fired, including fifteen union officials.

Then on September 2, the bodies of two young machinists were found deep in the hull of a ship. Six workers were injured trying to rescue them. The deaths were caused by a leak of argon gas.

The next day 1,000 workers rallied at the shipyard's front gate. And 500 participated in a funeral motorcade.

As public pressure against the company was mounting shipyard management and the FBI made their dramatic move to derail the movement.

'Not friend of workers'

Wednesday, September 17, three Nassco workers were charged in a "bomb plot." Mark Loo, Rodney Johnson, and David Boyd, members of Ironworkers Local 627 and International Association of Machinists Local 389, were arrested, accused by the FBI of plotting to bomb electrical transformers of San Diego Gas and Electric Company and thereby cripple the shipyard.

Two of the three are members and the other a supporter of the Communist Workers Party. They are all ac-

vists in the union and were among those fired last month.

The sensational charges were based on the work of police informer Ramon Barton, a former Nassco worker.

Barton had attended meetings with the three indicted workers. The FBI claims that Barton's van was used in the bomb plot and conversations in the van had been secretly taped by the FBI.

Union lawyer Tom Tosdal commented on the case, "It's the same old FBI. The FBI has never been a friend of the working man."

At a news conference after the arrests, Sarah Loo, wife of one of the defendants, called the charges "a frame-up, part of Nassco's union-busting efforts."

Frame-up

The wild charges are contributing to a new company offensive against all the workers in the yard. New charges have been made of workers sabotaging radiation shields for the nuclear powered warships being built there. And the FBI is holding out the threat of more arrests.

FBI Special Agent Norman Zigrossi was quoted in the *Los Angeles Times* as holding out the possibility of further arrests in the case. He said that the FBI is investigating whether there is a connection between the "bomb plot" and the deaths of the two workers found in the ship.

Before the frame-up charges, the Nassco protests, firings, and deaths had become the most widely discussed labor issue in the San Diego area. Several locals of the Machinists union passed resolutions calling for an investigation of Nassco. Lunch-time meetings, petitions, and reports to union locals to discuss the Nassco situation took place at a number of different locations.

Safety issues are not new at Nassco. In the past four years, seven workers died in job-related accidents. From February 1979 to August 1980 the shipyard was cited for twelve serious violations of federal Occupational Safety and Health Administration safety regulations including exposure to asbestos and inadequate ventilation.

The arrests were obviously designed to break the back of the growing support for the rehiring of the fired Nassco workers and for action against the worst safety violations.

Socialist Workers Party congressional candidate Mark Friedman is a Machinists union member in San Diego. He and his campaign supporters have been distributing a statement at union meetings and plant gates throughout the area denouncing the frame-up effort. In it he says:

"This is an attack on every unionist in San Diego. The real purpose is to

divide and demobilize workers fighting for better conditions.

"I call upon the entire labor movement and its allies to defend the Nassco workers. An injury to one is an injury to all. We have to mobilize to demand that these frame-up charges be dropped and all those fired for the August 2 demonstration be rehired."



November 16-30

The *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial* invite you to travel with us on a two-week tour of Cuba.

After spending several days in Havana the tour will fly to Santiago de Cuba, birthplace of the Revolution. The next week will be spent traveling across the island. The tour will visit the cities of Camaguey, Las Villas, and Santa Clara.

During the two weeks we will have time to meet with representatives of the Cuban Workers Confederation, Federation of Cuban Women, Committees for the Defense of the Revo-

lution, and other organizations. Also we will visit schools, hospitals, polyclinics, housing developments, and factories.

The tour departs from Miami November 16 and returns there on November 30. The cost is \$850. This includes hotel, meals, roundtrip travel in Cuba, visa fees, and bilingual tour guides.

For more information write to *Militant/PM Cuba Tours*, P.O. Box 314, New York, N.Y. 10014

Nicaragua scores historic victory

By Lis Angus
and Phil Courneyeur

MANAGUA—On International Literacy Day, September 8, news reached here from Paris that Nicaragua had been chosen to receive UNESCO's prestigious Nadezhda K. Krupskaya Literacy Award for 1980. The prize recognizes Nicaragua's achievement in reducing illiteracy from more than 50 percent to nearly 13 percent in an intense five-month campaign—a unique accomplishment in educational history.

The Krupskaya award—named in honor of the famed Soviet educator—includes a cash prize of \$12,000. The Nicaraguan Ministry of Education will devote the money to adult education, a priority of the next phase of literacy efforts here.

UNESCO awarded Nicaragua its Hassin Habif Literacy Award as well. Taken together, the two awards testify to the international interest and acclaim that Nicaragua's National Literacy Crusade has achieved.

500,000 now literate

The facts and figures of Nicaragua's literacy drive speak for themselves. In just five months some 406,000 of Nicaragua's poorest and most deprived people over ten years of age have learned to read and write. By early 1981 this number should rise to more than half a million, once the campaign among the non-Spanish-speaking minorities of the Atlantic Coast region is completed.

Nearly 100,000 persons participated directly in the nationwide mobilization. The teachers included 52,180 "brigadistas"—primarily high-school and university students, organized in the People's Literacy Army (EPA). Another 25,846 workers and housewives taught in the cities, both in work places and neighborhoods.

A special primer in braille was developed in order to enable blind people to participate in the campaign.

Including supervisory and support personnel, nearly 70,000 persons traveled from cities and towns into the countryside and mountainous regions, where they lived with peasant families for five months. Many parents visited their brigadista children during the crusade, thus further increasing the number of urban Nicaraguans who have learned first-hand of the extreme rural poverty and exploitation that is imperialism's legacy to Nicaragua.

"The city and the countryside each brought forth their own values," the Ministry of Education's balance sheet on the campaign said. "More than half a million persons—peasants, urban workers, and housewives—were at one and the same time pupils and teachers. The peasants taught the young *alfabetizadores* about all their rich experiences acquired throughout centuries of contact with nature. The teacher was a student, the student a teacher—a revolutionary transformation in education."

The interchange between city and countryside affected class relations within the revolution. The majority of the brigadistas and supervisors came from middle-class urban families with access to education, culture, and leisure time. For the first time, many came face to face with the poverty, hunger, and degradation that have trapped the rural poor in servitude, ignorance, and desperation. The urban youth have learned much more profoundly why the revolution is necessary and why its gains must be defended to the end.

At the same time, the crusade brought the peasants a deeper appreciation of the goals and meaning of the Sandinista revolution.

Teaching more than literacy

The Nicaraguan people took on much more than the task of teaching and learning how to read and write during the crusade.

The brigadistas worked side by side with their adopted campesino families, performing many of the daily tasks of the countryside. *El Brigadista*, the paper of the July 19 Sandinista Youth (JS-19), said in its September 6 issue:

"In five months of the crusade, we held 2,398 political and cultural meetings and 1,620 rallies; harvested 17,134 manzanas [29,573 acres] of coffee, beans, corn, rice, and vegetables; milked 2,500 cows; and constructed 5,195 latrines, 55 houses, 11 roads, 128 wells, 195 bridges, 271 schools, 14 communal baths, one canal, 53 health centers, 12 churches, 2 sports fields, 12 plazas, 28 parks, and 4 monuments."

Separate EPA health brigades traveled the countryside, setting up preventive medical care, treating common diseases, teaching hygiene, and surveying



Fred Murphy/Intercontinental Press

Literacy brigade departs for countryside. Teachers included high school and university students as well as workers and housewives.

rural medical needs. A plan to eradicate malaria was set in motion.

Cultural brigades, set up by the Ministry of Culture and the JS-19, also toured the country. Besides performing songs, dances, and theater productions, they collected the legends, popular songs, and oral history of the campesinos and mountain people. One product of this work will be a comprehensive history of the liberation war.

A census was undertaken on diverse aspects of the country's demography. The brigadistas also assembled samples of flora and fauna and collected archeological artifacts and mineral samplings.

Brigadistas helped set up local units of the FSLN-led mass organizations where they did not already exist—the Rural Workers Association (ATC), Sandinista Defense Committees (CDS), Luisa Amanda Espinoza Association of Nicaraguan Women (AMN-LAE), and the Sandinista People's Militia (MPS).

National Literacy Congress

Nicaragua's Second National Literacy Congress was held in the Rubén Darío People's Theatre in Managua on September 5 and 6. More than 1,000 delegates came from all parts of the country to review the lessons and achievements of the crusade and discuss the major tasks of the next stage of popular education in the country.

The delegates to the congress reflected the broad spectrum of people who participated in the crusade. They included brigadistas and other literacy teachers, representatives of the newly literate, training and support workers, members of the mass organizations, members of the army and the militia, and representatives of the government and the FSLN National Directorate. A number of international organizations and solidarity committees were also represented.

The mood of the congress was animated and militant. At many points in the proceedings, participants spontaneously initiated chants that were picked up by the whole body. Some of these chants were popular ones from the crusade itself, such as "Puño en alto—libro abierto!" (Fist high—book open!) Others were invented on the spot, and included many slogans of solidarity with the liberation struggles in El Salvador, Guatemala, Bolivia, and other countries.

Speakers at the congress stressed that the crusade could not have been carried out without a massive mobilization of the whole population behind this "second war of liberation."

"We learned that when all the popular organizations concentrate all their efforts on achieving a single goal, nothing can block them," Carlos Carrión, the FSLN's chief representative to the crusade, told the conference. "One of the greatest lessons the crusade taught people and leaders in outlying areas

of the country is that the fundamental factor in solving their problems is precisely their own collective determination and action to solve them."

Reactionary attacks

Not all Nicaraguans supported the literacy campaign. Sectors of the bourgeoisie saw from the beginning that the crusade would advance the overall revolutionary process.

Opposition ranged from passive resignation to outright hostility and even terrorism. Rumors and slanders were spread in the countryside about how the brigadistas were coming to take away the peasants' land and tell them not to believe in god.

Nine brigadistas were murdered by counterrevolutionary gangs. Along with another fifty brigadistas who died from accidents or illness, they are today honored in Nicaragua as heroes and martyrs of the crusade and the revolution.

Carlos Carrión replied to the counterrevolutionary slander campaign in his address to the congress. He focused particularly on those slanders designed to play on the strong religious beliefs of many Nicaraguans.

"The revolution has confronted these absurdities and lies, with the truth," he said. "Instead of taking away land, we have given land, and technical and credit assistance as well. Instead of telling people not to believe in god, we taught them to read and write so that they could choose their own beliefs. . . .

"Certain sectors are trying to convince Christians that they can't be Christians and revolutionaries at the same time. The true Christians have not wasted time in these theoretical discussions: Through their participation in the crusade they have shown in practice that to be a good Christian you must be a revolutionary."

Carrión also took up the charge that Nicaragua is undemocratic and well on its way to totalitarianism:

"How can a government be called totalitarian that never hesitated, in face of technical and financial obstacles, to undertake a literacy crusade? How can we be called a totalitarian dictatorship when we have left in freedom many of those who collaborated with the genocidal forces?"

"How can we be called a totalitarian dictatorship when we put arms in the hands of our people so they can defend themselves? We defy the Bolivian dictatorship to put their guns in the hands of the miners of Bolivia."

Only the beginning

The main work of the congress was carried out in four workshops that met simultaneously. They examined and drew the lessons of four aspects of the crusade: pedagogical work, technical and logis-

in literacy campaign

tic support, the work of the mass organizations, and the upcoming post-crusade phase. Each workshop discussed, criticized, and amended draft reports, which will be combined into a final assessment of the literacy crusade. Discussion was lively, and participants freely contributed their opinions and experience.

The post-crusade workshop was used to set plans for the consolidation and extension of the crusade's achievements. This work will involve three stages in the coming months—sustaining the literacy levels already achieved, following up to reinforce literacy and mathematics skills, and preparing students for the third stage, special primary education for adults. The new Vice-Ministry of Adult Education, headed by Francisco Lacayo, will oversee this work.

People's Education Collectives (CEP) have been established throughout Nicaragua to ensure that the newly literate are fully involved in the post-crusade programs.

The CEPs are based on the local mass organizations; setting them up was one of the responsibilities of the brigadistas. The CEP coordinators have been chosen from and by their own communities—many are recent graduates of the literacy campaign.

The work of the CEPs will be supported by a body of itinerant teachers (some of them former brigadistas), as well as by radio programs, newspapers, and other resources.

Another measure being instituted to sustain literacy is the waiving of postage on letters between brigadistas and their former students. This correspondence is encouraged as a way of maintaining the important emotional and social ties that were established between urban youth and their rural compatriots.

The Vice-Ministry for Adult Education will also be carrying out programs to further reduce the nearly 13 percent illiteracy rate still remaining in Nicaragua. The most important of these is the program to extend literacy among the non-Spanish-speaking peoples in the Atlantic Coast—the Miskito, the Sumo, and the Criollo (or English-speaking, largely Black) population.

A total of 60,000 are expected to become literate in the Atlantic Coast program. It has already gone through a pilot phase and will be initiated on a full-scale basis at the end of September, to be completed in four to five months. Classes will be conducted primarily by people from the Atlantic Coast communities, in the three respective native languages.

The final report of the post-crusade workshop issued a call for international support to the new programs. Funds as well as materials are urgently needed. Radios, tape recorders and tapes, mimeograph machines, paper, and newsprint are required, as well as mules, jeeps, and motorcycles to provide transportation for the itinerant teachers. Funds to help pay salaries for teachers and support staff are also needed.

From the beginning, Nicaragua's National Literacy Crusade appealed for and won international solidarity and aid. Teachers and experts came from many countries, especially Cuba. International

governmental and nongovernmental aid provided more than two-thirds of the \$12 million cost of the crusade.

Bourgeois forces challenged

In the closing speech of the congress, Carlos Carrión challenged the bourgeois forces of Nicaragua to prove through deeds that their calls for increased democracy are not mere phrasemongering:

"At the first literacy congress [held in June 1980] we invited the so-called democratic parties to show in practice their supposed democratic qualities by participating in and supporting the National Literacy Crusade. They have still not responded to this challenge. We now call on these sectors again to put aside personal and group interests and save their electioneering for 1984. For the first time in their history of betrayals and sellouts, let them do something concrete to benefit the people."

Nicaragua has not only shown how to achieve a literate population. It has also shown that a revolution is required in order to do this—a revolution that can galvanize and mobilize the united effort of an entire people. Furthermore, Nicaragua has shown how a literacy crusade can itself profoundly deepen and consolidate the revolution.

Nineteen years ago, Cuba's literacy campaign made history. The achievements of that campaign had never been equalled, let alone surpassed, until now.

The Cuban campaign received little international publicity or recognition at the time. The news of its success was suppressed for many years, in what the American educator and author Jonathan Kozol has called "an intellectual embargo."

But it has not been possible to suppress the news of the Nicaraguan campaign, or to block its international recognition.

The Nicaraguan campaign is far from being a carbon copy of the Cuban one, though it bears many similarities to it. The Nicaraguan campaign has already achieved a percentage reduction in illiteracy about twice what Cuba reached in 1961—and in five months rather than a year. Furthermore, Nicaragua's campaign involves working in four different languages, one of which (Sumo) had never been written down prior to the campaign.

The Cuban Council of Ministers sent Abel Prieto to speak at the Second Nicaraguan Literacy Congress. He stated clearly that Nicaragua's achievement is unique, adding, "What is certain is that in the not too distant future many peoples of Latin America will come here to find out how, in five months, Nicaragua defeated illiteracy."

Carlos Tünnermann, Nicaragua's Minister of Education, drew the balance sheet of the campaign in his opening address to the literacy congress:

"A new education has emerged from all this enormous experience. It is our great laboratory from which we will extract a unique educational approach. . . .

"From the pedagogical point of view, Nicaragua has become a great communal school, because we have consolidated a permanent school for a revolution that is also permanent."

From Intercontinental Press



Pedro Camejo/Perspectiva Mundial

In just five months some 406,000 of Nicaragua's poorest people have learned to read and write.

...Somoza

Continued from page 9

guayan Night: "Wherever you go, I will follow you. . . ."

Heavy boots did not keep the young men and women of the Sandinista People's Army from dancing among the throngs that gathered in the Plaza of the Revolution in central Managua. Defense Minister Humberto Ortega had issued orders authorizing those who had risked their lives to unseat Somoza to join in the celebrations.

News reaching here from other countries of the reaction to Somoza's demise fell into two categories—those who shared the happiness at the elimination of the ex-dictator, and those like Ronald Reagan who said that it was "a sad loss." The 5,000 ex-National Guardsmen camped in Honduras were reported greatly demoralized at the loss of their commander-in-chief. David Hall of the U.S. State Department said only, "This is a problem of the Paraguayan authorities." Pinochet of Chile refused to comment.

On the other hand, Rafael Menjívar, executive director of the Revolutionary Democratic Front (FDR) of El Salvador, called the bringing to justice of Somoza "an example and a precedent for all other tyrants."

Anastasio Somoza Debayle, fifty-four years old, had been spending his exile in Paraguay since August 1979. He lived in a replica of his Managuan "bunker" in an elegant section of the capital, Asunción. He was protected by thirty well-paid bodyguards, as well as by the repressive apparatus put at his disposal by dictator Alfredo Stroessner.

On September 17, during one of his rare excursions away from his small fortress, Somoza's Mercedes-Benz was trapped by two cars. The occupants of one of the cars began firing machine guns. An exchange of bullets between the commandos and Somoza's bodyguards was cut short by a bazooka blast from the second-story window of a nearby house. Somoza's car exploded. Killed instantly along with Somoza were financial adviser Joseph Peittner and chauffeur César Gallardo.

Dinorah Sampson, Somoza's mistress for the past eighteen years, identified his remains. His body had twenty-five bullet holes.

Paraguayan authorities blamed the attack on two Argentines, allegedly members of the People's Revolutionary Army (ERP), Hugo Alfredo Yurzun and Silvia Mercedes Hodgers. The Paraguayan police claim to have killed Yurzun in a two-hour shootout in Asunción the night of September 18.

While Nicaraguans rejoiced, they also took time to recall September 21, 1956. On that night a young poet, Rigoberto López Pérez, shot the founder of the Somoza dynasty, Anastasio Somoza García, father of Somoza Debayle. Nicaraguans were undoubtedly happy then also. But they had to suppress their emotions during the wave of repression that followed the assassination. National Guard commander Anastasio Somoza Debayle and his brother Luis sought revenge against the people of Nicaragua and their political opponents. Thousands were imprisoned, 3,000 in Managua alone—among them Carlos Fonseca Amador, who was to found the FSLN six years later. One hundred peasants were summarily executed, and children were tortured in front of their mothers.

U.S. imperialism provided the dynasty with technical assistance. A top CIA agent named Van Wynne was sent to establish the National Security Office (OSN) shortly after López Pérez's deed. Washington also sent medical specialists to try to save the life of the tyrant, who died in a U.S. Army hospital in the Panama Canal Zone.

Today, repression like that of twenty-four years ago is being suffered in Paraguay. Dictator Stroessner asked for and received the aid of the Argentine dictatorship, which immediately sent marines to stop and harass small fishing boats and passengers in transit in the Paraná River. Stroessner sent troops to occupy the Asunción airport and sealed the borders. He offered a reward of 4 million *guaranís* (US\$30,000) for information on those who brought Somoza to justice.

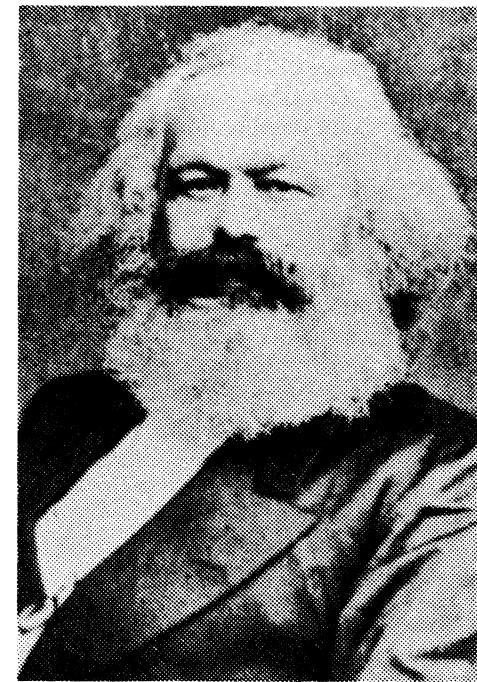
Somoza's son, Anastasio Somoza Portocarrero flew from New York to Paraguay to accompany his father's remains to Miami. The funeral was to take place in an elegant chapel owned by a Cuban counterrevolutionary. Members of Assault Brigade 2506, who were trained in Nicaragua in 1961 before invading Cuba at the Bay of Pigs, along with ex-members of the U.S.-created National Guard of Nicaragua, were to form an honor guard at the ceremonies.

Somoza was killed soon after he had declared to a West German magazine that "I feel full of strength and ready to fight." The interview was published the day of his death, 412 days after he fled the victorious Sandinista insurrection.

From Intercontinental Press



HENRY FORD VS. KARL MARX



By Frank Lovell

American mythology includes the story of how Henry Ford refuted Karl Marx.

The original Henry Ford, founder of the Ford empire, was not a modest man. He had some accomplishments to his credit, mainly the accumulation of a huge personal fortune. But he never understood how this happened.

He sincerely believed that he knew a great deal about the cause and cure of imperialist war, the dangers of monopoly capitalism, and the worldwide conspiracy of Jewish bankers, among other things of which he was totally ignorant.

Still, with all his confusion, he never set himself up as an economist. He had no need to. And the idea probably never occurred to him.

Ford acquired a lot of money before and during World War I. In the 1920s he was popularly regarded as the world's richest man. More than that, it was said that he earned all his money himself. And that was surely proof enough that he knew all about the laws of capitalist economy.

Bourgeois economists in the great American centers of learning taught that Ford was the man who, by practical example, refuted the economic theories of Karl Marx. That was before the 1929 stock market crash and the Great Depression of the 1930s.

The Ford Motor Company did not prosper during the depression years, but it survived.

Laws of capitalism

After World War II the laws of monopoly capitalism began to take effect and several big names in the auto industry disappeared from the list. The "big three" remained: General Motors, Ford, Chrysler.

In the mid-1950s the Ford Motor Company was managed by Henry Ford II, his grandfather having passed from the scene. The company by then was different in some ways and Ford the Second is of course not an exact replica of the original. He does, however, exhibit strong hereditary traits. And for some reason he has in the past felt called upon to venture into the field of economic theory.

Back in 1955 Henry the Second undertook to explain to a group of hucksters how "free enterprise" was generally misunderstood and why it was, nonetheless, gaining converts. The salient points of his remarkable exposition were recorded in a series of articles by George Breitman in the *Militant* at the time.

This was during one of the so-called Eisenhower recessions when, according to Henry II, the atmosphere was "volatile and tension charged." He said, "People . . . worry about the possibility of strikes. They get all worked up about things like automa-

tion, guaranteed annual wages," etc. He acknowledged that there are, of course, "periodic spells of uneasiness." But the only trouble, as he saw it, was that some people were still "fearful of prosperity after so long and pleasant an acquaintance with it."

Unemployment was then running at about 5 percent. Automation threatened to throw millions out of their jobs in the ensuing decade. Farm income was falling. Consumer debt was mounting. But from Ford's vantage point there was really nothing to worry about if people would "keep nerves steady and spirits high."

'Self-regulating system'

He described the great change that had come about. "We have experienced," he said, "without quite realizing it, the evolution of a new kind of human institution. . . . The primitive and relatively unstable capitalism of the past has given way to a consumer-dominated, self-regulating system that broadly serves the interests of the great mass of people."

To illustrate how this new economy works, he made up an example. But first he advised "brainwashing to wipe away the accumulated flotsam and jetsam, the 19th century economic doggerel, that confuses our brains and muddies our vision."

We now see things differently. "Suppose," said Ford, "we look upon capital not as accumulated wealth or goods but as the productive power potential stored up in machinery. . . . It should be possible, then, to measure our capital in terms of a common denominator—standby horsepower. And by studying the distribution of horsepower among our people we can, perhaps, learn something new about American capitalism and just who it is that controls the real wealth of our country."

Mechanical power! Labor saving machinery! That's the thing. Ford imagines (anyway, he asked his listeners to imagine) an economy in which we "lump together all the standby potential of all public and private machinery except for that in military use—machinery ranging from giant generators to power lawn mowers."

Having *supposed* what capitalism might be and having *imagined* how value could be measured, the inventive genius of Ford then produced "facts" to substantiate his fantasy. This is what he submitted for the year 1955. Private industry and agriculture own an estimated power potential of about 1½ billion horsepower; public power sources amount to about 75 million horsepower; and "what we might call home capitalism—everything from your auto to your electric shaver—adds up to an estimated work potential of at least four billion 700 million horsepower—or more than twice as much as

all other non-military power combined."

What was Ford's conclusion? "Now I submit," he said, "that when you find people possessing many times more capital goods than all industry . . . then you've just got to conclude that our system is, after all, being run for the benefit of capitalists—all 160 million of us!"

This was Ford's peculiar variation of the popular 1950s "people's capitalism" theme. Others who subscribed to the "new economy" and developed their own self-serving explanations of it included some of the more "intellectual" union officials of the time. This was the heyday of union/management cooperation. Union officials tried to convince workers that no economic or social crisis was beyond the cure of "enlightened" employers who understood the value of sound advice and collaborated willingly with "reasonable" union officials.

Walter Reuther, then president of the auto union and the CIO (before the AFL-CIO merger), prototype of the "farsighted and fairminded" union official, shared the fundamental outlook of Ford with some reservations. On the general character of the economy he thought Ford was beginning to acquire an understanding.

As a young socialist Reuther had many years earlier learned that capitalist profits are gained by buying labor power and exploiting the working class. But by 1955 he was convinced that "Karl Marx had no conception of private enterprise as it has developed in our time."

Reuther dreamed of an idyllic future, made possible through a labor-management alliance, which he hoped would last forever. "We plan to take management up on the mountains and we would like to give them a little bit of the vision that we have," he said. "We would like to show them that great new world that can be built if free labor and free management and free government can cooperate together in harmony in harnessing the powers of America and gearing that power to the basic needs of people."

That was twenty-five years ago.

Capitalist reality today

Today's capitalist reality mocks Reuther's dream world and Ford's brainwashed suppositions. The line between capital and labor is accurately described by United Auto Workers President Douglas Fraser as "one-sided class warfare."

Ford's idle plants cannot operate today on his imaginary "productive power potential." Capitalist economy in general and the auto industry in particular is in crisis, and the working-class standard of living is plummeting.

The Ford Motor Company reported a \$468 million loss between April and

July of this year, its highest quarterly loss ever. Its U.S. operations have lost more than \$1.5 billion since June 1979.

The 1980 sales of American cars through September are 24.3 percent below the 1979 level.

More than 300,000 auto workers—one in every four—have been laid off during the past year. In August Detroit's rate of unemployment was a staggering 18 percent.

In May of this year Ford had 404,000 unsold new cars, and decided to give rebates to prospective buyers who would take them away. At the same time, Ford announced the temporary closing of three more assembly plants in Wayne, Michigan; Metuchen, New Jersey; and Lorain, Ohio. This, added to the company's already idle facilities, cut its productive capacity to less than half.

Sober representatives of the Ford Motor Company attribute the hard times to high interest rates on auto loans, economic uncertainty, high fuel prices, and threats of gasoline shortage. Hardly a penetrating analysis of the economic depression.

Nothing is said about Henry the Second's "steady nerves and high spirits" miracle prescription for economic ills. Instead, the Ford Motor Company is asking the Carter administration to impose higher taxes and stricter regulations on imported cars. If not seen as a cure for the present crisis of world capitalism, company officials think it will temporarily help Ford sales in this country.

Marx on capitalist crisis

Karl Marx revealed and explained the contradictions of capitalist economy, which produced periodic crises of overproduction in the system. He also explained why the capitalist class cannot resolve any of the contradictions inherent in its profit-driven economy. He taught that only the politically organized working class is capable of restructuring society and using the productive capacity of modern industry to satisfy human needs.

This means at the moment that the union movement should demand the nationalization of all idle industrial facilities, immediately reduce the hours of work with no loss in take-home pay, call for a vast public works program to give jobs to all unemployed workers, and begin the replacement of all capitalist politicians with elected working-class representatives.

Capitalist myths will be further exposed by the deepening economic crisis. They offer neither explanation nor solution to the twin evils of unemployment and inflation. The American working class will find the answers to these and other problems, and when it does Karl Marx will be restored to his proper place among the great scientists and teachers in our history.

From Poland to Canada to Cuba

Women in industry: new breed of fighters

The following is from the September 1, 1980, issue of 'Socialist Voice,' newspaper of the Revolutionary Workers League, Canadian section of the Fourth International.

Anna Walentynowicz is a 50-year-old Polish woman, the mother of two children, a political activist, union militant, and a leader of the workers' uprising in her country. A crane operator, she has worked for 30 years at the Lenin naval yard at Gdansk.

Sally Matthews, a 39-year-old mother of eight children and a union militant, died June 24 following the collapse of a platform in a copper refinery at Inco in Sudbury, Ontario. She worked in the blast furnace for five years, where she was in the front lines of the fight to eliminate the unsafe working conditions which finally cost her life, along with those of 1,500 men who have died in Ontario's mines since 1935.

There are more and more women like these in countries all over the world. Women who are doing so-called men's work in the center of production are emerging as central leaders of social and labor struggles.

More and more women in the advanced capitalist countries are fighting for access to industrial jobs, or to keep such jobs, in the face of a major campaign by the employers to drive them out.

This is an international struggle, but one that is not well-known. A socialist educational school held at the end of July by the European sections of the Fourth International provided a rare occasion for an exchange of experiences and impressions on this question.

The following information was reported at the school.

The struggle in Italy

In a little less than three years, some 10,000 women were successful in getting jobs at the giant Fiat industrial complex, employing 250,000 to 300,000 workers, in Turin.

At the end of the 1940s, Italian workers fought for and won legislation stipulating that hiring in unskilled jobs would be done through lists set up by the municipal administration and under the control of the unions.

For a number of years this law was a dead letter. But around 1974, in face of a wave of factory closures, unemployed youth began a series of occupations of unemployment offices and held demonstrations in the northern part of the country to force implementation of the law.

The victory that resulted not only established hiring lists controlled by the unions; it also prohibited sexual discrimination.

In order to make the victory real, the



Women led demonstration of striking Fiat workers in Turin, Italy.

women had to lead a hard fight to convince their fellow male workers that they were not out to steal their jobs, as well as combatting the objections of the employers about not having adequate washroom facilities and so forth.

The bosses tried to discourage the women by giving them the most difficult and dangerous work. The women workers then convinced their union to demand less dangerous work for both men and women.

When the Unidal food processing factory, which employed a large majority of women, closed down, the women won the collective right to be hired in auto and steel plants.

Preferential hiring

In all the capitalist countries, the vast majority of women are channeled into industries like electronics, textiles, and subassembly in steel and other basic industries. Now they are beginning to win laws that recognize their right to all kinds of jobs.

In some countries, for example Great Britain, the United States, Canada, and Sweden, they have made progress through affirmative action or preferential hiring programs, based on the concept of receiving compensation for centuries of inequality.

In Great Britain, a feminist organization has been fighting for some time to get women into manual trades and for access to skilled trades courses. In particular they are challenging the employers in the nationalized industries, who claim they already have equal opportunities programs for women. More British women now have jobs on assembly lines in the auto industry.

A new Swedish law which went into effect July 1 bans sexual discrimination in hiring. Women's equality committees exist in several unions. Women working in the metal industry have led a struggle against pornography in the workplace.

With the current recession, the gains won in the United States and elsewhere are threatened. Women are being pushed completely out of certain industries by discriminatory "temporary" layoffs, many of which become permanent.

But as the experience in Italy, Quebec and English Canada, and elsewhere shows, the fight to get into heavy industry and to stay there is part and parcel of the fight against unemployment and arbitrary firings by the working class as a whole.

Despite high unemployment, a big campaign led by the United Steelworkers in Hamilton forced Stelco to hire some 40 women in a plant of 10,000 workers. Recently, the first woman was hired at National Steel Car in the same city.

A number of railway and other unions and the NDP [New Democratic Party—Canada's labor party] are supporting a campaign in Winnipeg, Manitoba, for women to get into skilled "nontraditional" jobs at Canadian National Railway.

One of the most important struggles in Quebec and English Canada is the fight of the three women fired from the Pratt & Whitney aerospace company near Montreal. This fight, which has received enormous support, links the fight against unemployment with the fight against sexual and political discrimination.

The three women who were fired—Suzanne Chabot, Katy Le Rougetel, and Wendy Stevenson—are members of the Revolutionary Workers League. A recent report by the Quebec Human Rights Commission confirmed that they were fired last November because of their political activities and socialist views.

The commission revealed that an agent of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP) visited Pratt & Whitney and "communicated" the names of the three women to the company. The RCMP requested that the three be placed under surveillance.

On the basis of the commission's findings that the RCMP visits were "decisive" in the political firings, the commission is demanding that the three women be immediately rehired and that Pratt & Whitney pay them almost \$30,000 in back pay and damages. The commission is also investigating the subsequent firings of the three women on April 11, 1980—all on the same day at two different companies.

The campaign for rehiring the three women is a significant part of the struggle for the right of women to work in heavy industry.

Stakes in this struggle

The fight for access to jobs in basic industry deepens the fight for other feminist demands. In order to overcome the obstacles erected by the employers, women fighting for such jobs have to struggle for other demands like the right to abortion, daycare, and paid maternity leave against attempts to keep women outside the unions by giving them part-time or temporary jobs.

The importance of jobs in industry to the fight for women's liberation is shown by the examples of women in Canada, Nicaragua, and Grenada.

Among the first measures taken after each of these revolutions were measures to encourage and inspire women to participate fully in production.

In Cuba, women's brigades were organized to cut sugar cane and played a leading role in mobilizing the population to build up this key sector of the Cuban economy.

In Nicaragua, women are increasingly participating in the construction industry, a central priority of the country following the destruction at the hands of Somoza.

And in Grenada women are fully participating in the industrialization plan of the new revolutionary government.

The leading role played by women in the revolutionary process in these three countries is inseparable from the gains they have made in moving into the center of social production.

increased Black enrollment at schools like Duke, he stressed, are two parts of the same struggle.

Farrell and Doug Tuthill, president of the United States Student Association, are touring the South to voice the USSA's support for Black College Day.

"Knowledge is power," Tuthill, who is white, declared at the rally. "There are people in this country who don't want you to have that power." He compared the attacks on Black schools with the U.S. Senate's current attempt to slash funds for student aid, which the USSA has been active in opposing.

The September 29 march will assemble at 9 a.m. at the Ellipse and proceed to the capitol. A conference on the movement to save Black colleges will be held at Blackburn Center, Howard University, on Sunday, September 28. For more information, write Black College Day '80, 1501 Broadway, Suite 2014, New York, New York 10036, or call (212) 575-0876.

...D.C. march

Continued from back page

degrees, only three out of ten Black students at primarily white schools do so. Eighty percent of Black doctors are graduates of Black colleges.

The pressures being put on Black colleges nationally are bearing down especially hard on North Carolina's Black schools. Here, the Department of Health, Education and Welfare is suing the University of North Carolina system for having maintained separate and unequal facilities for white and Black students. HEW's solution is to merge the Black schools with neighboring white institutions. Would this be to the advantage of Blacks? The answer from A&T students has been a resounding "No!"

"We don't want to lose our identity," says Vivian Jackson. James Lewis of WNAA, the campus radio station, agrees. "A&T is a very old Black institution, with a history."

It is true that A&T and other Black schools have been victims of unequal funding. For decades, the state spent twice as much on North Carolina State as it did on A&T. Glaring inequalities exist in the dormitories, science laboratories, and library collections. A 1979 HEW study concluded that \$90 million to \$120 million would be needed to compensate the Black schools for years of racist under-funding. Black students demonstrated in Raleigh last year to demand that this money be spent, and the state, under pressure to demonstrate a "good-faith effort," did appropriate \$40 million.

The current hue and cry being raised by HEW and the North Carolina media about the Black colleges' troubles, however, seems to have little to do with actually improving schools like A&T. Instead, students feel, this information is being exploited in a sensationalist manner to provide a rationale for closing or "submerging" Black

schools. Students were particularly infuriated by a column in the Raleigh *News and Observer* that labeled the Black schools "educational slums" handing out meaningless degrees to students with "low academic potential," and suggested that they all be closed.

The A&T student government called a press conference September 17 to defend their school. "It is true our facilities are inadequate . . . in comparison to those at other (UNC) System institutions," they stated. "But the education we receive is NOT outdated but up-to-date; NOT inadequate but adequate; NOT inferior but superior!"

At the campus rally the next day, two of the best-received speakers were from predominantly white campuses. Brian Farrell, a Black student activist at Duke University, told the rally that "the issue is access—whether we are able to attend college at all." Preserving Black colleges and fighting for

In Review

A southern Black union organizer looks back

The Narrative of Hosea Hudson. His Life as a Negro Communist in the South. By Nell Irvin Painter. Harvard University Press. 400 pages. \$7.50.

Being Black in the South in the thirties and forties was dangerous, but being Black and a Communist could be deadly. Hosea Hudson was both, and he tells about it in this new book.

Still a member of the Communist Party, Hudson's purpose seems to be simply to tell the story of what he did and saw. In this he was assisted by

Books

Nell Irvin Painter, a history professor at the University of Pennsylvania. She tape-recorded his recollections and put them together.

The main value of this book is that it gives a rare firsthand glimpse of the Birmingham working class in those times—the day-to-day life, attitudes, misery, and oppression—and how the workers tried to fight back.

You won't get the big picture—of how the unions were built, for example. But you do get a close-up look at the events Hudson saw and participated in. While it's obviously colored by his political outlook then and now, it's still very useful.

Hosea Hudson was born in Wilkes County, Georgia. Like his folks before him, he grew up to be a sharecropper. But he later moved to the city and became an industrial worker. In this he was no different from hundreds of thousands of others in the South. Hudson, however, went on to become a communist, or at least what he understood to be one.

By the time Hudson got to Birmingham in the 1920s, he had given up the gambling and drinking of his early youth. His main off-the-job activities were singing in a church quartet and following the baseball games played by the teams fielded by industries around Birmingham.

But what was happening to Blacks at the time was always on his mind,

Ed Warren is a member of United Steelworkers Local 3036 in Birmingham, Alabama.

such as the lynchings, the frame-ups—Jim Crow society as a whole. At the same time, this was on the mind of many Blacks. They were looking for a way of combining their strength in defense.

Hudson was working at Stockham Valves and Fittings when he ran into the Communist Party in 1931. (I was very interested when I read this, since I was also working at Stockham. The conditions Hudson describes have changed very little.)

One day Hudson got a leaflet about a meeting around the Scottsboro case. This involved several Black youths fighting frame-up charges of raping two white women. He went to the meeting and before long he was in the CP.

Soon afterward Hudson was fired from his job on flimsy grounds. (This is one of the things that hasn't changed at Stockham. The Steelworkers local there is now fighting through a grievance to get my job back.)

From then until the late 1940s when he left the South, Hudson spent most of his time on political work in Birmingham (except for a brief stint in Atlanta and several months at a leadership training school in New York in 1934—where he was taught to read and write at age thirty-six).

According to Hudson, the CP had 600-700 members in Birmingham in the 1934-35 period. These were overwhelmingly Black. There were some white, but not many.

For a white man to even associate with Blacks at that time would earn him the label red, Hudson says. It was actually against the law for Blacks and whites to meet together.

Nonetheless there were working-class whites who joined the CP.

One measure of the depth of Jim Crow is that Hudson's book gives you the impression that even CPers dwelled in entirely different worlds, except for top leadership meetings.

Hudson worked among unemployed and working-class Blacks. During the early and mid-thirties the main vehicle was the International Labor Defense. The ILD was much bigger than the CP, he says, and could draw in a larger

layer of whites. Its work centered around the Scottsboro case, although there were local struggles as well.

Hudson has some bad things to say about preachers. They were hostile to the ILD, and later to the unions. Hudson himself moved away from his religious convictions after joining the party. When some party members kept asking him where heaven was, he said he realized he couldn't answer. After a while in the CP he stopped going to church, although he was ordered to return during the popular-front days of the late 1930s.

Organizing drive

Hudson was active in the fight to organize U.S. Steel's big Fairfield Works just outside Birmingham. It included a confrontation with the popsicle union, a company union so named because they passed out free popsicles to get workers to their meetings.

He tells about a big march of steelworkers—joined by the already organized coal miners—through the streets of Fairfield in the spring of 1937. It defied the rules of Jim Crow by exhibiting "the strength of the Union, white and black together. That was something unusual, to see white and black together."

Hudson describes his activity in the unemployed movement, and in the pioneer battles for the right to register to vote—as Democrats. (Here he learns that the big Black preachers and doctors have made a secret deal with white officials to register a limited number of their kind each year—excluding any working-class Blacks, who might not vote the right way.)

Hudson has little to say in the way of criticism or apology about the shifts in CP line. He does admit pushing a policy during the war aimed at stifling all struggles until the war was over. Then, he says, "I thought the bosses going to lay down with the workers, the wolves and the lambs going to lay down together."

As you might expect, he says, "I had more battles in Birmingham with workers" over this approach.

Toward the end of the war his co-workers at Jackson foundry, who knew him as a leader of past struggles, approached him about doing something about conditions on the job.



Southern miners

They wound up organizing a steel union, with him as the first president. At first it was all Black, and the whites stayed away. But when they noticed the raises the Blacks were getting, they came to him and asked about joining.

It was customary where there were Black local officers for officials from the district office in Birmingham to come in and administer the oath of membership. But the Black officers outsmarted the racist officials by swearing in the new white members—who raised no objections—before they got to the meeting.

Recently Hudson returned to Birmingham. The mayor's office awarded him the key to the city. This in itself is a sign of the changes in the city. The evening paper had a big write-up on him, but failed to mention that he had been a CP leader. Maybe they didn't want to put the new Black mayor on the spot with right-wing readers.

While reading this book I found it hard not to like Hosea Hudson. He is one of the best of a generation of fighters who came forward to rally around the banner of working-class revolution and the new world it will bring. But like so many others, he was tricked into accepting a fraud—the Stalinist version. This is a shame.

But there is also much hope in Hudson's story. Because it shows the great potential of southern workers, Black and white. This potential will be realized in the next big round of class battles on the horizon.

—Ed Warren

Come to Indianapolis 20th National YSA Convention December 27-30



No matter who is the victor in the presidential elections this November, the Young Socialist Alliance intends to discuss its own plan of action for American youth. We aim to organize the majority of young people in America to help make a socialist revolution—a revolution that will abolish capitalism and create a society which will place human needs before profits.

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The Great Society

Harry Ring



But they're fool proof—Arkansas Power and Light had to shut down one of its reactors because the back-up water cooling system was clogged with thousands of clams. An official said larvae slipped through water filters and matured into large clams. He said similar problems have plagued reactors all over the country.

Helps pad the count—Normally only resident aliens are required to do so, but the Selective Service ruled that Cuban arrivals being held at processing centers must register for the draft even though they are classified as

applicants for admission to the country.

Perish the thought—A White House aide said the prez would be dismayed to learn that the National Fisheries Center at Leekton, W. Va., dribbles in a few extra when he comes to fish. "I know it would have infuriated him," the aide said, "if he were in a race, and they moved up the finish line for him."

Better than ketchup?—Balducci's, a New York grocery, is expecting a shipment of truffles. They'll go for \$30

an ounce. But, the *New York Times* advises, they're delicious grated over pasta.

Or in similar quantities—James Hale, publisher of the Kansas City *Evening Star*, which is celebrating its hundredth anniversary, commented: "We are devoted to excellence and profitability, and not necessarily in that order."

Things are tough all over—When the Boston city council nixed a request by Mayor Kevin White to up his wages from \$40,000 a year to \$90,000, he announced he'd have to start moon-

lighting, returning to his law practice part time.

When the crowd comes by—Hammer Schlemmer, which features all kinds of useful gadgets, has a two-oven rotisserie with brass doors. The skewers are big enough for eight chickens or two suckling pigs. \$34,000.

Thought for the week—"This is no time to be a friend of the United States."—Rep. Charles Wilson of Texas, staunch Somoza supporter, commenting on the demise of his friend.

Women in Revolt

Boston archbishop rebuffed

The Catholic church hierarchy would like to take us back to the Middle Ages when they had the power to dominate the minds and actions of the population.

But nobody wants to go.

On September 11, five days before the Massachusetts primary, Humberto Cardinal Medeiros, the Catholic archbishop of Boston, issued a pastoral letter condemning politicians "who make abortion possible."

The letter was aimed at two liberal Democratic candidates for Congress, Barney Frank and James Shannon.

Frank was seeking the congressional seat held by Rev. Robert Drinan, a Catholic priest.

Ironically, Drinan gave up his seat because the pope—worried about the revolutionary actions taken by some priests in Latin America—told him that priests have to stay out of politics.

Both Frank and Shannon stated they favor a woman's right to abortion and have supported government funding for abortions for poor women.

The archbishop's letter, which was read from the pulpit of many churches on Sunday, September 14, said—lest anyone fail to get the message: "Those who make abortions possible by law—such as legislators and those who promote, defend, and elect the same lawmakers—cannot separate themselves totally from that guilt which accompanies this horrendous crime and deadly sin. If you are for true human freedom—and for life—you will follow your conscience when you vote, you will vote to save our children, born and unborn."

In other words, vote as the church tells you, or go to hell.

But the flames of eternal damnation didn't frighten the Catholic majority of these congressional districts as much as some down-to-earth problems in the here and now—the possibilities of back-alley abortions, self-induced abortions, and unwanted pregnancies.

Frank and Shannon won the election. Their opponents—backed by the powerful Massachusetts Right to Life organizations, as well as by the church hierarchy—went down to defeat.

Catholics and non-catholics told interviewers that they resented the archbishop's letter and disagreed with the advice.

The *Boston Globe* pointed out that the letter actually brought abortion rights voters to the polls. They came out to defy the church and vote their conscience—their social conscience.

Some liberal journalists are pointing to the Massachusetts election as proof that the Catholic church hierarchy, together with right-wing fundamentalists, are the cause of the current attacks on women's rights, and the way to prevent further blows is to get out and vote against their candidates.

This was the advice of Anthony Lewis's column, which appeared in the op-ed section of the September 18 *New York Times*. He urged the American people "to resist, as voters in Massachusetts have just done."

To people like Lewis, the Massachusetts election is a microcosm of the presidential race. On the one hand is Hitler's incarnate, Ronald Reagan, backed

Suzanne Haig



by the right wing. He'll win, they say, unless we get out and vote for Jimmy Carter. Then things will be different.

Is that so?

One day after the Massachusetts primary, the Supreme Court—Jimmy's court—decided not to review its earlier decision to uphold the constitutionality of the Hyde Amendment, thus banning federal funding for abortion.

The attacks on women and all working people are part and parcel of the bipartisan austerity drive of the employers and their government and do not depend upon the individual Democratic or Republican politician who might be holding office.

And as for lesser evil. In the Massachusetts primary, Barney Frank had campaigned for a tighter budget at a time when transit workers were fighting for safer working conditions and higher wages. The International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers and other unions came out behind the anti-abortion candidate running against Frank.

Some choice.

What would have happened though if the unions, backed by women's rights organizations, had run their own candidate, who was pro-labor and pro-abortion rights and who was independent of the Democrats and Republicans?

Such a campaign would have shown in action the way forward for working people and the women's movement.

If such a campaign had been launched, then think what the archbishop might have said from the pulpit!

What's Going On

COLORADO

DENVER

CUBA ALERT: CUBAN DIPLOMAT ASSASSINATED IN NEW YORK. Speakers: Joel Edelstein, professor of political science, University of Colorado at Denver; Harry Nier, attorney; representative of Young Socialist Alliance. Thurs., Oct. 2, noon. Student Activities Center, Auraria Campus. For more information call (303) 534-8330.

GEORGIA

ATLANTA

IRAN, IRAQ: IRAN REVOLUTION UNDER ATTACK. Speakers to be announced. Sun., Oct. 5, 7:30 p.m. 509 Peachtree St. Donation \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (404) 872-7229.

NEW YORK

NEW YORK CITY

NIGHT IN SOLIDARITY WITH EL SALVADOR AND CHILE. Speakers: Mario Palestro, Chilean leader; representative, Revolutionary Democratic Front. William O'Shea Junior High School, 100 W. 77th St. Music, food. Sat., Sept. 27, 7 p.m. Donation: \$3. Ausp: Comité Coordinador de Solidaridad con el Pueblo Salvadoreño; Comité Chileno Antifascista.

KENTUCKY

LOUISVILLE

THE SOCIALIST ALTERNATIVE FOR YOUTH IN THE 1980 ELECTIONS. Speaker: Kathryn Crowder, member, Young Socialist Alliance National Executive Committee. Tues., Sept. 30, 7:30 p.m. Room 114 Humanities, University of Louisville. Ausp: Louisville Young Socialist Alliance. For more information call (502) 587-8418.

LOUISIANA

NEW ORLEANS

POLISH VICTORIES: WHAT U.S. WORKERS CAN LEARN. Speaker: John Williams, Socialist Workers Party. Fri., Oct. 10, 8 p.m. 3207 Dublin. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (504) 486-8048.

MINNESOTA

TWIN CITIES

THE ANTIDRAFT MOVEMENT: THE STRUGGLE TO STOP NEW VIETNAMS. Speakers: Don Olson, Stop the Draft Committee; member, Minnesota 8; Julio Quan, professor from National University in Guatemala; Mahmoud El-Kati, instructor at Macalester College; Dave Riehle, Socialist Workers Party. Sun., Oct. 5, 4 p.m. 508 N. Snelling Ave., St. Paul. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Twin Cities Militant Forum. For more information call (612) 644-6325.

NEW JERSEY

NEWARK

MONEY FOR JOBS NOT WAR. Speakers: An-

drew Pulley, Socialist Workers Party candidate for president; Jon Britton, SWP congressional candidate; Beverly Andalora, Young Socialist Alliance.

Sat., Oct. 4, buffet 5 p.m., rally 7 p.m. 11-A Central Ave. Donation: \$3. Ausp: New Jersey SWP Campaign Committee. For more information call (201) 624-3889.

NEW YORK

BROOKLYN

SOCIALIST WORKERS CAMPAIGN RALLY. Speakers: Andrew Pulley, SWP candidate for president; other socialist candidates. Fri., Oct. 3, reception 7 p.m., rally 8 p.m. 355 Atlantic Ave. Donation: \$3. Ausp: Brooklyn Socialist Workers Campaign Committee. For more information call (212) 852-7922.

NORTH CAROLINA

PIEDMONT

SAVE BLACK COLLEGES. Speakers: Johanna Ryan, Young Socialist Alliance; Khalid Fattah, chairperson, Winston-Salem Improvement Association (for identification only). Sun., Oct. 5, 7 p.m. 216 E. 6th St., 2nd floor. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (919) 723-3419.

OHIO

CINCINNATI

THE SOCIALIST ALTERNATIVE IN THE 1980

ELECTIONS. Speakers: Scott Breen, Socialist Workers Party candidate for Congress, 12th District; Kathryn Crowder, Young Socialist Alliance National Executive Committee. Sun., Sept. 28, 7:30 p.m. 2531 Gilbert Ave. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: SWP Campaign Committee. For more information call (513) 751-2636.

TOLEDO

WORKERS AND THE ELECTIONS. Speaker: John Powers, Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. Senate. Fri., Oct. 3, 7:30 p.m. 2120 Dorr St. Donation: 1.50. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (419) 536-0383.

OREGON

PORLAND

REVOLUTIONARY CUBA TODAY. Speaker: Kara Obrovic, Young Socialist Alliance National Executive Committee. Sat., Oct. 4, 7:30 p.m. 711 NW Everett St. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (503) 222-7225.

WEST VIRGINIA

MORGANTOWN

WHAT WORKING PEOPLE SHOULD KNOW ABOUT THE DANGERS OF NUCLEAR POWER. Speaker: Fred Halstead, leader of Socialist Workers Party. Sun., Oct. 5, 7 p.m. 957 S. University. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (304) 296-0055.

Our Revolutionary Heritage

Che's farewell letter

On October 3, 1965, Fidel Castro, appearing on a television presentation of the newly established Central Committee of the Communist Party of Cuba, read a farewell letter from Che Guevara, who had left Cuba earlier that year.

Ernesto "Che" Guevara was an Argentine doctor and revolutionary fighter. He was convinced of the need to fight imperialist domination wherever it existed. In July 1955 he met Fidel Castro in Mexico at the home of María Antonia González. Fidel welcomed Che into the Cuban rebel troops. Che traveled with them to Cuba on the *Granma* in December 1956. He fought alongside Fidel and other revolutionary leaders until their victory over the imperialist-backed Batista dictatorship on January 1, 1959.

Che served as a central leader in the new revolutionary government until 1965, when he left for Africa, then joined guerrilla troops in Bolivia. He was killed by CIA-trained Bolivian troops on October 8, 1967.

Below is his final farewell to Fidel and the Cuban people.

* * *

Fidel:

At this moment I remember many things—when I met you in María Antonia's house, when you suggested my coming, all the tensions involved in the preparations.

One day they asked who should be notified in case of death, and the real possibility of that fact affected us all. Later we knew that it was true, that in revolution one wins or dies (if it is a real one). Many comrades fell along the way to victory.

Today everything is less dramatic, because we are more mature. But the fact is repeated. I feel that I have fulfilled the part of my duty that tied me to the Cuban Revolution in its territory, and I say goodbye to you, the comrades, your people, who are already mine.

I formally renounce my positions in the national leadership of the party, my post as minister, my rank of major, and my Cuban citizenship. Nothing legal binds me to Cuba. The only ties are of another nature—those which cannot be broken as appointments can.

Recalling my past life, I believe I have worked with sufficient honor and dedication to consolidate the revolutionary triumph. My only serious failing was not having confided more in you from the first moments in the Sierra Maestra, and not having understood quickly enough your qualities as a leader and a revolutionary.

I have lived magnificent days, and I felt at your side the pride of belonging to our people in the brilliant yet sad days of the Caribbean crisis.

Seldom has a statesman been more brilliant than you in those days. I am also proud of having followed you without hesitation, identified with your way of thinking and of seeing and appraising



CHE GUEVARA

dangers and principles.

Other nations of the world call for my modest efforts. I can do that which is denied you because of your responsibilities as the head of Cuba, and the time has come for us to part.

I want it known that I do it with mixed feelings of joy and sorrow: I leave here the purest of my hopes as a builder, and the dearest of those I love. And I leave a people who received me as a son. That wounds me deeply. I carry to new battlefronts the faith that you taught me, the revolutionary spirit of my people, the feeling of fulfilling the most sacred of duties: to fight against imperialism wherever it may be. This comforts and heals the deepest wounds.

I state once more that I free Cuba from any responsibility, except that which stems from its example. If my final hour finds me under other skies, my last thought will be of this people and especially of you. I am thankful for your teaching, your example, and I will try to be faithful to the final consequences of my acts.

I have always been identified with the foreign policy of our revolution, and I will continue to be. Wherever I am, I will feel the responsibility of being a Cuban revolutionary, and as such I shall behave. I am not sorry that I leave my children and my wife nothing material. I am happy it is that way. I ask nothing for them, as I know the state will provide enough for their expenses and education.

I would like to say much to you and to our people, but I feel it is not necessary. Words cannot express what I would want them to, and I don't think it's worth while to banter phrases.

Ever onward to victory! Our country or death!

I embrace you with all my revolutionary fervor.

Che

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Letters

Best labor paper

Enclosed is my request for a weekly bundle of three *Militants*. I will increase the size of the bundle if need be. I am proud to say that your first national campaign subscription team of Stan Hills and Siobhan Duggan spent two nights with me while we campaigned in the local area. They are an excellent team worthy of the title "Socialist Workers."

As always, you continue to publish the best labor paper in America.

SWP in 1980, even in

Gulfport!

C.T.

Gulfport, Florida

'Fundamentalist' gov.

I am so glad somebody protested that so-called National Affairs Briefing in Dallas [see September 19 "Letters" column].

Two of those in attendance were Alabama Gov. Fob James and his wife Bobbie. According to a story published in a local newspaper, Governor James denounced the constitutional doctrine of separation of church and state as "nonsense." "Throughout Anglo-Saxon history," he said,

"movements of government have spawned from the pulpit."

This outrageous, racist statement drew ire from millions of people in the state. In Opelika—the governor's home town—the newspaper, which once thought of him as God's greatest gift to the state, blasted the statement. My minister—I'm a Unitarian—made a sermon around the statement and drew applause from the congregation.

Incidentally, Governor and Mrs. James have spent thousands of taxpayers' dollars using the state plane to fly to this and similar

fundamentalist gatherings while slashing social services to the poor and working people of the state. Meanwhile, the governor, a multi-millionaire who made his fortune off the toil of nonunion workers, has refused to reimburse the state. Patricia Hefner

Birmingham, Alabama

Prison brutality

On September 15, 1980, men in the maximum lockup at the Pennsylvania State Correctional Institution at Dallas began a hunger strike to protest their longterm

'We deserve as much as Polish workers'



Gdansk shipyard workers. San José teachers look to Polish union fight as example for their own.

On Monday, September 8, 1,600 teachers struck the San José Unified School District, comprising 33,000 students at fifty-one San José schools. Members of the San José Teacher's Association (NEA) overwhelmingly rejected the offer of an insulting 3.8 percent raise, which would amount to a severe pay cut in the context of today's soaring inflation rate. In the past six years alone, there has been a 30 percent loss of buying power for teachers who are not protected by a cost-of-living escalator clause.

From the start, the teachers have taken a militant stance in the face of the school district's decision to send in 1,100 substitutes—scabs—and to provide them with "emergency" teaching certificates. On September 10, the school district asked for a court injunction ordering an end to the strike. 1,500 teachers responded by holding a rally at Paul Moore Park. Later in the day, hundreds of teachers set up a spirited picket line around the superior court building, demanding that the school district negotiate. One teacher carried a sign that read, "We Deserve As Much As the Polish Workers." The injunction to return to work was soon denied.

Referring to the teachers going on strike, the president of the school board, Phillip Hammer, stated, "Any measure of surprise would have to be naive." Another board member, Norbert Strecker, conceded, "I do not think it's a reasonable offer. The board position is that the money is not there." The SJ Teacher's Association is demanding that the

schools should remain open until the funds are exhausted, and then remain closed until proper funding is restored.

By Thursday September 11, 34 percent of the total student enrollment stayed home. Student walkouts are spreading throughout the district. Some 2,100 students at four schools walked out of classes to support the teachers. The students are concerned for their schools, not for longer vacations. To ensure federal funding, many arrive for only one hour's attendance. One student carried a sign at Leland High saying, "Walk Out at 9:00 AM or Be Baby-sat. It's Your Choice."

John Harris
San José, California

Learning About Socialism

ZIGGY



confinement in the hole and focus attention on their federal habeas corpus petition filed on September 8, 1980.

These are men who have been kept locked in tiny cells for twenty-three hours and ten minutes a day for years on end. They live in forced idleness with no work or educational programs. Their visitors must see them in handcuffs across a table. They may not touch their wives or mothers or even see their children under eighteen.

They live under the threat of brutal and racist guard violence. The prison authorities' goal is to take away the sanity of these men.

We are writing to urge your support of these men as they struggle against this unconstitutional, systematic cruel and unusual punishment.

Please send letters and telegrams or make phone calls of protest to: Gov. Richard Thornburgh, Harrisburg, Pennsylvania 17120. Attorney General Harvey Bartle III, Harrisburg, Pennsylvania 17120. Ronald Marks, Commissioner of Corrections, Box 598, Camp Hill, Pennsylvania 17011. Prisoner's Union Support Committee Box 5185 Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania

Miners & Poland

As I walked through my lamp house to leave work a little after midnight last night, something new on the bulletin board caught my eye.

One of my co-workers had cut the headline off of page one of the September 19 *Militant*, changed it slightly, and put it up in the middle of the board. It now reads "Polish victory shows how UMWA workers can fight back here."

There are eleven subscribers to the *Militant* in this mine and quite a few more people have bought this issue.

Kipp Dawson
Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania

The 'Militant' special prisoner fund makes it possible to send reduced-rate subscriptions to prisoners who can't pay for them. To help out, send your contribution to: Militant Prisoner Subscription Fund, 14 Charles Lane, New York, New York 10014.

The letters column is an open forum for all viewpoints on subjects of general interest to our readers. Please keep your letters brief. Where necessary they will be abridged. Please indicate if you prefer that your initials be used rather than your full name.

Bolsheviks discuss trade unions

A reader's question:

In your discussion of the recent strikes by Polish workers you mentioned the 1921 dispute in the Russian Communist Party on the trade union question. (See "Learning About Socialism" column on unions in a workers state, in the September 5, 1980, issue.)

This dispute involved the two most prominent leaders of the Russian revolution, Lenin and Trotsky, who took different positions. What was the dispute about? How was it resolved?

H.M.

Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania

Frank Lovell replies:

Lenin sharply criticized Trotsky's 1920 pamphlet, *The Role and Tasks of the Trade Unions*. Trotsky had argued that unions, in the economic crisis brought on by the civil war that followed the revolution of 1917, should be responsible for increasing production. Lenin disagreed. He said, "Comrade Trotsky . . . seems to say that in a workers' state it is not the business of the trade unions to stand up for the material and spiritual interests of the working class. That is a mistake."

Involved in this, said Lenin, was the class nature of the Soviet state, class divisions within the Soviet Union, bureaucratic abuses, and the level of class consciousness of the workers. "For one thing, ours is not actually a workers' state, but a workers' and peasants' state," he said.

When interrupted by Bukharin, who challenged Lenin's definition of the Soviet state, Lenin then corrected himself. "Our Party Programme—a document which the author of the *ABC of Communism* knows very well—shows that ours is a workers' state with a bureaucratic twist to it," he said.

"We now have a state under which it is the business of the massively organized proletariat to protect itself," Lenin continued, "while we, for our part, must use these workers' organizations to protect the workers from their state, and to get them to protect our state."

Lenin believed that unions were essential for the protection of working-class needs against bureaucratic managers of industry in the workers' state. In 1922 he called for the "New Economic Policy," which introduced a number of changes involving private ownership of small industry and profit incentives. It also provided that union membership should be open to all workers and completely voluntary. "Under no circumstances," Lenin wrote, "must trade union members be required to subscribe to any specific political views; in this respect, as well as in the respect of religion, the trade unions must be non-partisan."

Lenin was a confirmed believer in the axiom that "as long as classes exist, the class struggle is inevitable." And he did not try to deceive himself or others that social classes were abolished when the working class seized state power.

That was only the beginning of the transition to a classless society, a goal that to this day remains unfulfilled.

"It follows from this," Lenin wrote, "that at the present moment we can under no circumstances abandon the idea of the strike struggle, we cannot, as a matter of principle, conceive the possibility of a law that makes compulsory state mediation take the place of strikes."

This particular debate between Lenin and Trotsky over the role of trade unions in a "workers' state with bureaucratic distortions," as they described it, was resolved amicably. Trotsky later reported how this came about and submitted

ted his view of what was at issue in the debate in *My Life*, the autobiography he wrote in 1929.

"The party was arguing feverishly about 'the school of communism,'" Trotsky said, "whereas the thing that really mattered was the economic catastrophe hanging over the country. The uprisings at Kronstadt and in the province of Tambov broke into the discussion as the last warning. Lenin shaped the first and very guarded theses on the change to the New Economic Policy. I subscribed to them at once. For me, they were merely a renewal of the proposals which I had introduced a year before. The dispute about the trades-unions instantly lost all significance."

Trotsky said, "It was only a few months later that Lenin formulated entirely new principles on the role and purpose of trades-unions, based on the new economic policy. I expressed my unreserved approval of his resolution. Our solid front was restored."

Trotsky's account of the dispute is confirmed by E.H. Carr in his monumental *History of Soviet Russia* (The Bolshevik Revolution, 1917-23, Vol. 2). In this work a complete and detailed account of the course of the Lenin-Trotsky debate is present. Carr says, "The whole trade union controversy of the winter of 1920-21 had been conducted under the system of war communism and on the economic presuppositions of that system. The abandonment of war communism and the introduction of NEP had repercussions in labor policy which rendered both the Trotskyist and the workers' opposition platforms obsolete, but fitted in well with the more flexible programme [of Lenin] accepted by the [tenth] congress, and could be plausibly represented as a continuation of it."

The lessons over the trade-union debate were soon buried by the rapid rise to power, beginning in 1923, of the vast bureaucratic state apparatus under the direction of Stalin. The unions that Lenin had hoped would curb the bureaucracy were destroyed. Lenin's Russian Communist Party was likewise destroyed, and almost all the leaders of the Bolshevik revolution of 1917 were subsequently murdered by the Stalinist regime.

The disagreement between Lenin and Trotsky reflected the changing economic and political realities these revolutionaries were grappling with in the first years of the first workers state.

The trade-union question remains a vital one in all the workers states today. In those ruled by the heirs of Stalin, it is haunting the bureaucrats.

Unions have emerged out of the recent massive strikes in Poland that are fighting in the interests of the workers against the bureaucratic caste.

For the Polish workers and others throughout the world inspired by them, there will be renewed interest in the trade-union discussions among the Russian revolutionaries of sixty years ago.

Lenin on Trade Unions and Trotsky's *My Life* can be ordered from Pathfinder Press, 410 West Street, New York, New York 10014 or from one of the offices listed below. The price of *Lenin on Trade Unions* is \$2.95 and *My Life* is \$6.95. Add \$.75 per book for postage.

Please send questions you would like to see answered in this column to: Stu Singer, 14 Charles Lane, New York, New York 10014.

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Harlem fights to save Sydenham Hospital

By Caroline Lund

NEW YORK—They marched by the hundreds across 125th Street, in the center of Harlem, singing "When the Saints Come Marching In." It was the entire congregation of Canaan Baptist Church, which had come to join the picket line on Sunday, September 21, to save Harlem's Sydenham Hospital.

The men were in freshly pressed suits, the women in their Sunday best, older women with their canes, girls in organdy dresses, the choir in its robes.

The picket outside the hospital swelled to some 2,000, marching in 86° heat. Protesters included trade unionists, members of Black rights organizations, doctors and nurses in their white uniforms, congregations of several other Harlem churches, including the American Muslim Mission, and residents of the community.

The Sunday demonstration was the culmination of a week-long, twenty-four-hour picket line vigil demanding that the hospital remain open. New York City's Mayor Edward Koch has decreed that the facility be closed down as a hospital, because it is "wasteful" of health care funds.

To prevent the shutdown, Black community leaders have occupied the hospital's administrative offices since last Monday. Those inside the hospital include Rev. Herbert Daughtry, national chairperson of the Black United Front; Rev. Timothy Mitchell, chairperson of the National Council of Black Church Men; and Cenie Williams, president of the Association of Black Social Workers. Another central leader of the Coalition to Save Sydenham, the group organizing the protests, is James Butler, president of American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees Local 420, which represents the city hospital workers.

The good turnout by the Harlem community for Sunday's rally was partly in response to a brutal police charge against a rally at the hospital the day before, in which about twenty protesters were injured.

Speaking at the Sunday rally, Rev.

Caroline Lund is a member of United Auto Workers Local 664.



Militant/Wells Todd

September 21, the day after police attacked picketers, more than 2,000 Harlem residents rallied in solidarity with movement to save Sydenham Hospital.

Wyatt T. Walker of Canaan Baptist Church turned to address himself to the 100-strong police line between the hospital and the protesters. He accused the cops of "just wading in like savages" against the protesters.

James Butler called on all trade unions in the city to throw their support behind the struggle to save Sydenham and called the Saturday police attack "worse than in Selma, Alabama."

Already participating in the rally were members of 1199 National Union of Hospital and Health Care Employees, United Auto Workers Local 664, Hispanic Labor Committee of the New York Central Labor Council, and International Ladies Garment Workers Union Local 23-25.

Other labor support came from District 65 UAW, which sent a telegram to President Carter, New York Gov. Hugh Carey, and Mayor Koch urging that "every necessary step be taken to maintain full services at Sydenham."

The breadth of the Sunday rally gave new impetus to the fight to save Sydenham. Racist slurs by Koch, who called protesters "punks and thugs" and "a Black mob," have only fired the determination of the Harlem community.

Confronted by this growing protest, Koch announced on September 23 that

he was postponing the closing of the hospital from October 15 to November 1, to allow the community groups time to seek state and federal funds to keep the hospital open.

The Coalition to Save Sydenham responded in a press statement later that day, "While recognizing the constructive character of the Mayor's new position on the hospital, we feel that it is not sufficient . . ."

The statement reiterated a determination to keep organizing protests until all plans to close Sydenham are dropped. They urged supporters to rally outside the hospital on Saturday, September 27, at 2:00 p.m.

The Committee In Support of the Popular Struggle in El Salvador (Faro-bundo Martí) distributed a leaflet urging that the money sent by Washington to support the "repressive and murderous junta" in El Salvador should instead be used to maintain and increase needed hospital care and social services in this country.

Jonathan House, president of the Committee of Interns and Residents, told the *Militant* that Mayor Koch's stated reasons for closing the hospital were all lies. "Harlem has been officially designated by the Department of Health, Education and Welfare as a medically underserved community," he noted, "so why take away one of the

most used hospitals?"

According to Black columnist Earl Caldwell in the *New York Daily News*, Sydenham's emergency room accepted 26,000 patients last year. Of these, only 1,500 arrived by ambulance. The rest just walked in from the community. Closing Sydenham would literally mean murder to thousands of such community residents who couldn't afford a cab to a more distant hospital or couldn't survive the wait for an ambulance.

Reba Williams Dixon, Socialist Workers candidate for U.S. Congress, walked the picket lines at Sydenham and issued a campaign statement urging her supporters to join the struggle to keep Sydenham open.

At the Sunday rally, a speaker from the National Black Human Rights Coalition seemed to express the mood of the crowd when he stated that "what we're seeing in the 1980s—from Miami, to Wrightsville, to Orlando, to Chattanooga, to the struggle for Sydenham Hospital—is the reemergence of the struggle of our people, as we previously saw in the 1960s."

Charlie Barron, chairperson of the Harlem Black United Front, initiated a chant that is the slogan of the revolution on the Caribbean island of Grenada, "Forward ever, Backward never!"

Threat to Black colleges focus of D.C. march

By Johanna Ryan

GREENSBORO, N.C.—North Carolina Agricultural and Technical State University has been in the forefront of Black higher education since its founding in 1891.

"A&T," as it's known here, has also long been a center for discussion and action in the Black struggle for freedom. In 1960, A&T students sat in at a segregated Woolworth's lunch counter, setting off a civil rights protest movement that swept the nation.

A&T students have always been proud of their school. Lately that pride is joined with concern and a growing anger. For years A&T and other Black colleges in North Carolina have been

denied adequate funds and equipment. Now, under the guise of "desegregation," federal and state governments are threatening the very existence of the Black colleges.

That's why student leaders here are planning an all-out effort to build the national Black College Day '80 march and rally in Washington, D.C., on September 29. March organizers hope to draw students from the 107 Black colleges in this country to Washington to protest the attacks coming down on Black colleges.

Here at A&T, the student government has been setting up tables every day to publicize the march. According to Public Relations Director Vivian

Jackson, 560 students have already signed up to make the trip. A spirited rally was held September 18 on the A&T campus, and further rallies are planned to build momentum for the national march. Students at Winston-Salem State and North Carolina Central University, two other Black schools, plan to attend the march.

"Black colleges are being eliminated. Black colleges are being submerged," Aubrey Eatmon of the A&T student government told about 100 students at the September 18 rally. "And it's up to us to do something about it."

How are Black colleges being undermined? According to television producer and columnist Tony Brown, a

central organizer of Black College Day, "The Office of Civil Rights of the Department of Education is destroying them with seemingly innocent desegregation plans that neither improve educational opportunities for Blacks nor preserve these historic institutions."

Brown cites the example of Savannah State College in Georgia, which has been merged with predominantly white Armstrong State. "This year, SSC will graduate about half the Blacks it did last year," Brown points out. "The desegregation is being used as a prototype for more mergers."

While seven out of ten students at Black schools graduate with bachelor's

Continued on page 19